

C. CRISPI SALLUSTII  
BELLUM

*Catilinarium et Jugurthinum,*  
Cum Versione Libera.

PRÆMITTITUR

Dissertatio, in qua quam egregie conferant ad Linguam  
Latinam facilius promptiusque percipiendam, Auctorum Classicorum  
Versiones Anglicæ, tam ad verbum quam liberius factæ, pluribus  
demonstratur.

Necnon et

Vita *SALLUSTII*

Auctore Viro Cl. *Joanne Clerico.*

I. E.

The HISTORY of the WARS of

*Catiline and Jugurtha,*

By *SALLUST.*

With a Free Translation.

To which is prefixed,

A Large DISSERTATION upon the Useful-  
ness of TRANSLATIONS of Classic AUTHORS, both *Literal*  
and *Free*, for the more easy expeditious Attainment of the LATIN  
TONGUE.

AS ALSO

The LIFE of *SALLUST*

By the Famous Monsieur *Le Clerc.*

---

By *JOHN CLARKE.*

Late Master of the Publick Grammar-School in HULL.

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The SECOND EDITION.

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THE  
P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Character of SALLUST as an Historian, is so well known, and so justly established in the Learned World, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon the Subject; and I decline it the rather, because I am sensible Encomiums of that Kind from a Translator or Commentator, are generally, and but too justly, suspected by the most sensible Readers, to proceed only from a Design to set off, or recommend more effectually his own Performance: Tho' how little I am disposed to that selfish Piece of Pedantry, the Preface to my FLORUS may convince the Reader; and to give him yet further Proof of it, I shall here take Notice of the only material Fault I know of in SALLUST.

ONE of the Qualifications indispensably required in an Historian, is Impartiality. I grant our Author has given a remarkable Instance of this, in undertaking to write the History of Catiline's Conspiracy, wherein he could not avoid speaking much of his Enemy Cicero, in a Manner that could not but be for his Honour, which he has not only done decently, but with Commendation of his Vigilance and Concern for the Publick,

*under the Titles of Clarissimus Consul, and Optimus Consul. The former indeed he puts into the Mouth of Julius Cæsar. But he might notwithstanding have easily avoided that elevated Epithet; since he has only given us the Sense, and not the Words of Cæsar; whose Stile is very different from that of his Speech in Sallust. This, I say, is a commendable Instance of his Impartiality, if he was not at the writing reconciled to Cicero, as some have imagined. But then, I think, he has failed as much in his Parallel betwixt Cato and Cæsar. It is an Outrage upon common Sense, to run a Parallel betwixt two Men of such opposite Characters, so as to leave it at last a disputable Point, which was the greater and better of the two: Insomuch that any one who was to know nothing of Cæsar, but by our Author's Account of him, would certainly take him for a very worthy glorious Man. Whereas his true Character is the Reverse. He was indeed a Person of vast Abilities. But then he had nothing in him, that bore any Resemblance of a Virtue, but what was directly intended to promote the worst and most wicked Design, that can enter into the Heart of Man to conceive, the Destruction of the Liberties of his Country. The Generosity, Easiness and Clemency, our Author celebrates him for, were in him Arts or Tricks, practised purely with a View to acquire, and secure to himself, the Possession of an arbitrary Power over his Fellow-Citizens. Otherwise he had so little of those good Qualities separated from such a View, that this generous easy Gentleman would have made no Scruple, to have swept the Globe of the Earth of one half of its Inhabitants, by Fire and Sword, or any other Methods of Destruction, in order to rule the Remainder at Pleasure. And, to use the Words of Cato in his Speech to the Senate, upon Occasion of Catiline's Conspiracy, Shall any one talk to me in this Case of Mildness and Mercy? Shall that*

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that Man be accounted, or stiled mild and merciful, whose insatiable Thirst after Power made him wade through Seas of Blood to come at it. He was not a whit better Man than Catiline, but had a great deal more Cunning, and much greater Abilities, whereby he at length executed with Success, what the other attempted only to his own Destruction. He was shrewdly suspected to be privy to Catiline's Design, and engaged in it. And the great Concern he shewed to save the rest of the Conspirators, makes it not unlikely. However, his having been concerned in a Plot of the like Nature before, and indeed his whole Conduct from his early Youth to his Death, plainly demonstrate, that his Concern for them, proceeded not from any Tenderneſs of Nature, or Regard to the Laws of his Country, as he pretended, in his Speech to the Senate, but from a Design to use them for the like Purpose, whensoever a favourable Opportunity might present. It was absurd, as Cato justly observed in his Answer to him, at such a Juncture, when the City was in immediate danger of being involved in Blood and Fire, and the whole Commonwealth ready to be swallowed up in one common Ruin, to stand dallying and dodging, as if all was safe and secure, and proceed according to the Prescription of Laws, which never were, nor ever could be designed for Cases of such a Nature as that was. When Villainy is carried to so dangerous a Height, by Power and Numbers together, as not to admit of the Observation of Laws designed only for common and ordinary Cases, without the Hazard of a general Ruin, or utter Dissolution of the Government, the Rulers of a Commonwealth, in such a Case, are discharged from all such Laws, and left to act by that of Nature or Reason, which allows of all the Methods of Violence and Force, that appear necessary for the Preservation of the State, from the Destruction that threatens it. Cæsar, in  
short,



short, spoke upon that Occasion, like an artful ill-designing Man; Cato like what he was, a brave and a worthy Patriot. And to compare two such Men together, whose Characters were as opposite to one another as black and white, in the Manner our Author has done, was vile Dawbing, setting a Gloss upon the most extreme Wickedness, to give it the Air and Lustre of Virtue and commendable Accomplishments.

BUT this indeed is the only Flaw in our Author of any Importance, or worth while to trouble the Reader about, that I know of. As to the Matter of his History, it is remarkable and engaging enough. Catiline's Conspiracy was such a villainous desperate Design, as is scarce to be paralleled in the History of Mankind, unless by the murtherous Projects, contrived by the Roman Catholics, in Favour of their Religion, as they call it; especially that famous Plot here in England against King JAMES the First and his Parliament.

THE War against King Jugurtha too, for the Time of its Continuance, is as full of important and remarkable Incidents, as any other in the whole Roman History besides. We see there to what a Height Bribery and Corruption were at that Time got in Rome; to such a Height indeed, that the Romans wanted but one Thing to compleat their Shame and Ruin at once, that is, to have had the Bill, which was preferred to the People against the Pensioners to the King, rejected. And this was what many of the Senate (in all Likelihood a very great Majority) endeavoured by clandestine Means, and sly Practices, to bring about. But the People corrupt as they were, yet were not wicked and shameless enough to come into so vile a Project, which had it succeeded, must, in all Probability, have made Jugurtha Master of Rome. To conclude, we may learn, from this and the subsequent Part of the Roman Story, 'till Julius Cæsar executed his long projected Design

*Design upon his Country, this Lesson, that where Bribery and Corruption prevail amongst the Governors of a Free State, unless some powerful Remedy can be speedily applied, there the Destruction of Liberty must unavoidably and presently ensue.*

*AS for the two Orations, as they are called, of Sallust's to Cæsar, about settling the Government, I have not thought fit to translate them, as well because of the vile Flattery they are dash'd with, as also because having been less read and regarded than the History, they have not been conveyed down to us so correct, insomuch that the Sense seems to be quite lost in some Places, by the extreme Corruption of the Text, and in others the present Reading is at best disputable.*

*AS Translations of the Classick AUTHORS, both Literal and Free, are exceeding useful in learning the Latin Tongue, I have thought fit to subjoin to this Preface my Dissertation upon that Subject, but considerably enlarged. I am afraid indeed, the most judicious of my Readers may think, I have given myself a needless Trouble, in dwelling so long upon so plain a Subject. But I must beseech such to consider the great Importance of it, and withal the strong Prejudice many, even School-masters, are possessed with against the Use of Translations, and perhaps they may find Reason to be of a different Opinion. A Person that was a Stranger to the Absurdities of the Church of Rome, would certainly think it a very needless Thing, for any one to go about to prove in a long Discourse, that a Bit of Bread cannot be a human Body. And yet to that Necessity have the Reformed been driven, insomuch that many Men of the greatest Learning and Abilities amongst them, have writ largely to expose the Madnes of that Assertion of the Romanists, and were never blamed for it. And therefore, tho' the Absurdity I write against, be indeed al-*  
*most*

most as gross, as it is to maintain Bread to be *Flesh*, or a Penny-Loaf to be a Man; yet since a great many think quite the contrary, or at least pretend so, and upon that Pretence, reject the Use of Translations, and plead against them; I hope the Reader who considers this, will not think what I have urged against the common Method of Proceeding in our Grammar-Schools, in Favour of Translations, at all too much, or more than needed. For where Prejudice binders People from seeing what is right, in Matters of great Concern to the Publick, and so disposes them to decline and decry the Practice of it, there it will not only be excusable, but highly useful and necessary, to multiply Words, in order to set the Truth of the Case in as strong and glaring a Light as possible, 'till Prejudice vanishes before it. Now that the Opposition made by many to the Use of Translations is very absurd, and can therefore be founded upon nothing but Prejudice, or something worse, I have, I presume, in the Dissertation so abundantly demonstrated, that if it has no good Effect upon the Advocates for the common Method, it may at least prevent indifferent and unprejudiced Persons from being misled by them, and so operate in Time to a thorough Reformation of so palpable a Fault.

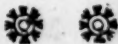
THE Method of Education commonly followed in our Schools, has long been the Subject of a general Complaint amongst the Learned. I very early became sensible of the Justness of that Complaint, and thought I saw clearly, how it was faulty and deficient in several Respects. And as no Attempts were made by any one to reform it, I thereupon took up a Resolution to try what I could do towards it myself. Which Resolution issued in the Publication of an Essay upon the Subject of Education, and several other Books, to support and render practicable the Method laid down in the Essay. But not finding myself at Liberty enough to pursue



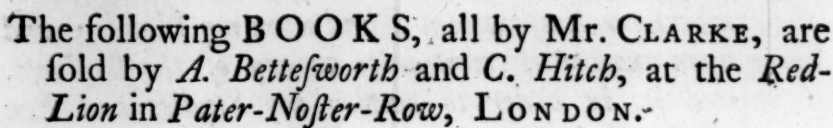
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*pursue the Design so closely as I wished, by reason of the cumbersome Employment I had upon my Hands; and being upon another Account quite weary of the Business, I quitted it, in order to employ my Studies and Pen more effectually in carrying on a Design I had so much at Heart, with this Assurance, that if my Sentiments upon Education were right, I could not be employed in any way more useful to the Publick. And that my Sentiments were just, or at least that I was not greatly out, or widely mistaken, in the Method I proposed, I thought I had some Reason to hope, from the great Approbation it met with from the most able Judges up and down the Kingdom; of which I had good Assurance, by Letters from several of them, as well as other Information. If therefore it should please God to continue to me that fine State of Health I have hitherto enjoyed, and Gentlemen will be pleased to encourage me in my Project, I shall spare no Pains to furnish our Schools with what further Helps are wanted in them. And I hope such Gentlemen as have done, or shall do me the Honour to declare in my Favour, will further honour me by supporting my Endeavours for the Service of the Publick with the Favour of their Recommendation, in order to banish out of our Schools, that Absurdity in Practice, which has hitherto generally prevailed therein. If they please but to interest themselves in the Business, all Obstructions to the Work arising from Ignorance or Prejudice, or what Motives soever, will quickly vanish; and we may soon see such a Revolution in our Schools, as will tend greatly to the Advancement of Learning and Virtue amongst us.*







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A  
DISSERTATION  
Upon the USEFULNESS of  
TRANSLATIONS  
OF  
CLASSICK AUTHORS,  
Both LITERAL and FREE,  
For the Easy Expeditious Attainment of the  
LATIN TONGUE,

Being an Extract from the *Essay upon Education*, and other Books, published by Mr. CLARKE, late School-Master of *Hull*; but very much enlarged with further Thoughts upon the Subject, humbly offered to the Consideration of the Learned, in order to a Reformation of the vulgar Method of Proceeding in Grammar-Schools, as to that important Article of Education, the Teaching of the *Latin Tongue*.



HOEVER duly considers the vulgar Management of Youth in our Grammar-Schools, will see Cause to wonder, that amidst the noble Endeavours for the Advancement of Learning, a right Method of Education has been in a Manner wholly overlook'd. Whilst the Great Men in the Commonwealth of Letters have been busily and successfully employ'd, in improving

proving and carrying on the several Arts and Sciences, they have neglected what was equally necessary, the Care of Youth. For had but this been as duly attended, as the Importance of the Matter required, their Labours would have been of vastly more Use to the World. Grammars and Notes upon Authors we have in Abundance indeed, and more by far than are good for any thing; yet these where they are useful, are only so to such as have made a considerable Progress in the Latin Tongue. But Beginners have been left wholly without any proper Helps, till of late some few have been provided for them, by one engaged in the laborious and troublesome Employment of teaching School, who consequently had both less Time, and less Ease of Mind for that Work, than many others better qualified to promote a rational Method of Education amongst us, had they been pleased to turn their Thoughts upon the Subject, and push the Matter, by supplying our Schools with proper Books for the Purpose. But the Learned, it seems, have thought Things of this Kind below their Notice. There was more Credit and Fame to be got by writing for Men than Children, and therefore the latter have been strangely neglected.

As the Course of Life I was several Years engaged in, obliged me to turn my Thoughts this Way, I have long since published my Sentiments upon the Subject, in a Treatise under the Title of an *Essay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools*. What I have there said, and elsewhere, upon the Usefulness of Translations for the easy expeditious Attainment of the Latin Tongue, I have thought fit to draw together under one View, but much enlarged with further Thoughts upon the Subject, in order to turn more effectually the Attention of the Publick upon a Matter of such great and general Concern.

TRANSLATIONS are of two Kinds, or there are two Ways of translating Authors for the Use of Schools, the one *Literal* or *Verbal*, in which the Latin is rendered into English Word for Word, or the Sense and Meaning of every Word in the Original is given in the Translation; the other *Free* and *Proper*, wherein Regard is only had to the Sense, which the Translator endeavours to express in the most just and handsome Manner, without pretending to give the precise Meaning of every individual Word, as in the Literal or Verbal Way. Now both these Sorts of Translations are so highly and apparently useful, for the ready Attainment of the Latin Tongue, that it is really amazing the World should



should not long since have been sensible of it; and it is yet more amazing, that after so much has been said upon the Subject, and Translations too of several Authors provided for the Use of Schools, to which no Exception has been taken, as ill done, that ever I could hear; yet a great many of our Masters should shew so strong an Aversion to what is so manifestly calculated for their Ease, at the same Time it is fitted for the greater Improvement of Youth under their Care. In order to open the Eyes of such, if possible, upon a Matter so much for their Quiet, Interest, and Credit, I have thought fit to present them with this Dissertation. I shall therefore speak distinctly to the Usefulness of TRANSLATIONS, both *Literal* and *Free*. And first of the *Literal*.

WHEN Boys set forward in the reading of Authors, there are but three several Ways for them to proceed in. 1. By the Help of a Master to construe their Lessons to them. 2. By the Help of a Dictionary. Or, 3. By that of *Literal* Translations.

I. As to the first, our Schools are very few of them provided with any more than two Masters; in which Case it is impossible for a Man that has three or four Classes to take care of, to give that Attendance to them all, in the Way of construing their Lessons to them, as to keep them employed a third Part of the Time they have to spend in the School. For it is not sufficient for a Master to construe Boys a Lesson once over from Beginning to End, in a Hurry (as is usual, I believe) and so clear his Hands of them, in Expectation that should serve the Turn, by keeping them properly employed, and he be no more troubled with them for his Assistance upon that Lesson. Alas! this will signify just nothing at all. If he would assist them to any Purpose, he must go over each Period of a Lesson distinctly and slowly by itself, more than once; and then try the Boys in it one after another, helping them out, where he finds them falter; or at a stand; and not advancing further, 'till the slowest of them are pretty perfect in what they are upon. But then whilst he is thus engaged with one Class, the rest for want of Help, will have little or nothing to do, but gape and stare about them, if they be not worse employed. Besides, this is such a Piece of Drudgery; as few Masters, I believe, will have any great Stomach to. For where the Use of Translations is rejected, and the Masters Lungs are to supply the Want of them, he in regard to his own Ease, and to save his Breath, is apt to make very short Work of it, by setting the Boys but very  
little



little Lessons, not a third, or not a fourth Part of what they might easily get, and to greater Perfection, by the Help of a Literal Translation, without giving him any Trouble at all. Two Thirds then of their Time at least must be spent in sauntering, or trifling; and therefore this Way of proceeding will not answer the Design proposed, or produce the desired Effect, the speedy Progress of Youth in their Business.

I may add too, that perhaps not very many Masters are qualified to furnish their Scholars, in construing their Lessons to them, with Words so fit and proper for their Purpose, as Literal Translations will, done by a Person qualified with a competent Skill in the Language for the Work. If any one wants to be convinced of this, let him make a Trial upon some of the Classick Authors already published with Literal Translations, *Justin* or *Florus* for Instance, by translating three or four Chapters together, and comparing what he does with what is already done, and I doubt not, but he will receive ample Satisfaction of the Truth of what I have said. For tho' he may find his Performance to have the Advantage upon the Comparison, yet he will certainly find it cost him some Thought and Trouble here and there, to work it up to that Perfection. For the Latin Idiom differs so widely from the English, that it is no such easy Business, as some may perhaps imagine, to translate the Classicks literally, and at the same Time with tolerable Justness and Propriety of Language, so as the English may bear a Reading, without appearing absolutely barbarous and ridiculous. It was this Difficulty of the Work, I guess, which deterred those whose proper Business it was, from attempting it, and so has been the principal, if not the sole Occasion, that our Schools have not been long since provided with that admirable and obvious Help of Literal Translations, so obviously such, that many could not but be sensible of it, who yet being deterred by the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and the Fear of Censure, would not engage in the Task of supplying our Schools with any thing in that Way. Now if this be the Case, if it be no such easy Matter to translate the Classick Authors literally, with any tolerable Justness or Propriety of Language, must it not be a vast Advantage to many School-Masters, to be delivered from the Vexation of hunting for proper Words, and oftentimes to no purpose, by being provided with good Translations, just and exact in their Kind? In short, I shall be bold to say, that not only Boys, but Masters themselves may  
many

many of them receive great Improvements in their Business, from Literal Translations of Classick Authors.

II. As to the Use of a Dictionary. That Way is yet more improper than the former. Young Boys are but very awkward at finding Words in a Dictionary, which Work will consequently make a sad Consumption of their Time, a single Word requiring as much as will suffice them for the getting two or three Lines perfectly to construe by the Help of a Literal Translation. And then what a tedious while must they be in getting so many Lines to construe by the Use of a Dictionary, where they may have Occasion, as must often happen, to look out half a Dozen Words or more for that Purpose? Does not the Absurdity of such a Method of Proceeding stare the Reader in the Face? And how can Gentlemen be easy in having their Sons carried on in a Way so manifestly trifling? Which will appear yet more so, when it is considered, that young Boys can indeed make but little Use of a Dictionary, for want of Sense to distinguish, amongst the various Significations many Words have, such as are proper for their Purpose; not to say too, that the best Dictionaries will in this Case frequently fail them. But suppose all this was otherwise, yet by what Kind of Conjururation must young Lads, betwixt Ten and Fourteen, unravel that perplexed Order of Words, in the Latin Tongue? This they can never do, give them what Instructions you will for it, 'till they come to have a pretty general Knowledge of Words; so as that upon reading a Sentence once or twice slowly and attentively over, they either discover the Sense, or come pretty near it. That alone, and not any Directions you can give Boys so young, will enable them to unravel the intricate Order Words usually have in the Latin Tongue. Now Literal Translations direct them immediately to the Order, in which Words are to be taken, and at the same Time immediately supply them with the Meaning of such Words as they want to know the Meaning of. All that has been said upon this Head, appears to me so very evident and incontestable, that for my Part I see not how it can be disputed by any one.

III. THERE is then no other proper Help left for young Lads in the reading of Authors, for the first three or four Years at least of their being at School, but that of *Literal Translations*. If Boys, who cannot conjure to come at the Meaning of Words, must be helped to the Meaning of them some Way or other, is not the most easy expeditious Way the

the best? And supposing a Master could assist them to keep them constantly employed (which every one must see to be utterly impossible) or supposing they might make a hard Shift to do their Business in a poor blundering Manner by a Dictionary (which is the utmost any one of the least Knowledge in these Matters can suppose) yet what Occasion can there be for either? when it is to the last Degree visible, their Business may be more easily and effectually done by the Help of Literal Translations. Is it not vastly more eligible for a Boy, when he is at a stand for want of the proper Order or Meaning of Words, to be set a going immediately by one single Cast of his Eye, than to be obliged to spend Time in tumbling and tossing the Leaves of a Dictionary backward and forward, or trotting perpetually up and down the School to the Master or his Schoolfellows for their Help? Is it not as absurd to deny this, as it would be to affirm that the best Way for a Work-man to go on easily and expeditiously with a Piece of Work, is not to have his Tools and Implements in the Shop or Work-house about him, all ready at hand, but to have them all to seek, some in the Kitchen, others in the Garret, others in the Yard, or the furthest Part of the Town; to be all carefully hid again every Night, that he may be sure to have them all to seek again the next Day when he wants them? Just like this is the common Way of Proceeding in our Schools, where the Use of Literal Translations is rejected. Help of the best Kind is provided for Boys, by virtue whereof they may proceed easily, chearfully, and expeditiously, in their Business; and yet a great many Masters will not let them make use of it, but instead thereof, will oblige the poor Children to waste two Thirds at least of their Time in Sauntering and Play, or thumbing the Leaves of a Dictionary to Pieces, for the Benefit of the Book-sellers, who alone reap any Benefit from this Piece of Wisdom, whilst the poor Boys only lose their Time, and the Parents their Money by it

BUT perhaps it may be alledged (for some I have known weak enough to make the Allegation) ' That the getting  
' their Lessons by a Dictionary fixes the Meaning of Words  
' better in the Memory of Boys, than the Use of Transla-  
' tions.' To which I answer, supposing it practicable for young Boys to get their Lessons by the Help of a Dictionary, which I have shewn it is not, yet does the tossing over the Leaves of a Dictionary to find a Word, contribute to fix the Meaning of it, when found, in the Memory? If so,  
the



## A DISSERTATION, &c. xvii

the longer Boys are in finding a Word, that is, the longer they are e'er they come at the Sense of a Word, the better they will remember it. Which is as much as to say, that the less Business they do, the greater Progress they will make; which I fear is too ridiculous to pass with any body. The turning over the Leaves of a Dictionary, 'tis evident, can signify no more to the Purpose, than the tossing of a Ball, or the knocking down of Nine-Pins. What is it then that is of Use for fixing the Meaning of a Word in the Memory? 'Tis plainly nothing but seeing it in the Dictionary, and repeating it over and over again. And is there any thing of Charm in the Name of a Dictionary, that the seeing the Meaning of a Word in a Translation running in a Column along with the Original, joined with the like Repetition of it, should not produce the same Effect, and conduce as much to fix it in the Memory? The reading a Word three or four Times over in a Dictionary, you say, will make a strong Impression upon the Mind. Will not reading the same Word as often over in any other Book, under any other Denomination, produce the like Impression? If not, it must be because the Leaf of a Dictionary, as such, has some strange bewitching Virtue in it, a Power of operating upon the Mind, and affecting it, which the Leaf of no other Book can possibly have:—*Risum teneatis.*

I HAVE likewise heard it alledged, 'That the Use of Translations will make Boys idle;' an Allegation more ridiculous, if possible, than the former. As Boys Business is by the Use of Translations rendered vastly more easy to them, if their Task or Lesson is increased in Proportion, as it ought to be, how is there any Encouragement given, or Allowance made, for Idleness? Translations are designed to assist Boys in getting their Lessons only, not in saying them to the Master. In this latter Case the Translations are to be under close Cover, that by the Manner of the Boys acquitting themselves, the Master may have Proof of their Diligence, or the contrary. And if the same Methods are taken to encourage Industry, and discourage Idleness, where Boys are helped by a Translation, as where they have the Help of a Master, or are left to the Use of a Dictionary, why should they not have the same Effect? If Sugar-Plumbs, Fruit, Play-things, or Half-pence, will make Boys attend diligently to the Instructions of a Master, or thrum their Dictionary heartily, will they not operate as strongly to make Boys diligent in the Use of a Translation? Or, if Correction



be necessary, why should it not work up a Lad to Industry, as well where he has the Assistance of a Translation, as where he has not? Will a Translation make him thicker skinned, or less sensible of Pain? *O rem ridiculam, Cato, et jocosam!* It is therefore a very senseless Thing to pretend, that Translations will make Boys idle. One Way to encourage them to Industry is, to make their Business easy and pleasant to them; which Translations certainly do: And therefore are a visible Means, not to make them idle, but industrious. Whereas in the vulgar Method of our Schools, Boys find it impracticable to do their Business to Content, and so are oftentimes rendered desperately idle, as being convinced by frequent and woful Experience, that no Pains, no Industry they can use, will avail to secure them effectually from the Lash.

THESE Objections against the Use of Translations have not however hindered, but that Translations have been thought so necessary for the easy and speedy Attainment of the Greek Tongue, that for above these hundred and fifty Years last past, no Authors in that Language have been publish'd without them. This might, one would think, have naturally led the World to the Pursuit of the same Method, at least with the easier Authors of the Latin Tongue for the Use of Schools. For must it not needs appear to any considerate Man a little unaccountable, that Translations should be thought useful and necessary for Men or elder Boys, in order to their more easy and speedy Progress in the Greek Tongue, but neither necessary nor useful for younger Boys, in the Attainment of the Latin? Is it agreeable to Reason or common Sense, to suppose a Boy of sixteen or seventeen Years of Age stands in need of a Translation, to assist him in reading of Greek, but that a Boy of ten or twelve may do his Business in the Latin Tongue easily and expeditiously enough without any such Help? Has a Child of that Age more Sense for the consulting and using a Latin Dictionary, than he has for making use of a Greek Lexicon, when he is arrived almost at the Years of Manhood? And what sorry Work would Boys make of it, if, upon entering the Greek Testament, they should be denied the Use of a Latin Testament, to help them in getting their Lessons, and be obliged to pick the Meaning of their Words out of a Lexicon? Every body can see the Absurdity of such a Manner of Proceeding in this Instance, and would be forward enough to cry out against any Master that should be guilty of it. And yet the like Absurdity committed in the teaching of the Latin

tin Tongue goes glibly down, and passes for the most proper Way of Proceeding. Now what is it that disposes Men to make so wide a Difference, where there is none at all in the Nature of Things? Nothing but Custom, the great Rule that most Men usually go by in the most important Affairs of Life, without consulting their Reason at all. Very few have the noble Freedom of Mind to examine Things strictly and impartially, in order to make the Result of such Examination the Rule of their Conduct. The Generality chuse to save themselves that Trouble, by going with the Herd, *qua itur, non qua eundum est*, as a Great Man amongst the Antients words himself upon Occasion of making the same Remark, if my Memory fails me not.

As for the Hebrew Tongue, to facilitate the Learning of that, *Arias Montanus* long since published the Hebrew Bible with an interlineary Version, for which, I doubt not, such as apply themselves to the Study of the Hebrew Language, are thankful to his Memory; at least they have a great deal of Reason, I am sure, having received myself a great deal of Benefit from the Use of it in learning that Language. And Mr. *Locke* was so sensible of the vast Help to be had from Literal Translations, that he did not think it below him to publish *Æsop's* Fables in the same Form as *Montanus* did the Hebrew Bible, with an interlineary Version. I grant indeed that Way of publishing Authors with the Translation so intermixed with the Original, is not proper for Schools. But however what those two Gentlemen did in that Way, shews sufficiently their Opinion of the Usefulness of Literal Translations. And the latter, M. *Locke*, thought so well of them, that he declares in his *Book of Education*, Mothers may by the Help of them teach their Sons the Latin Tongue themselves, if they please. *Whatever Stir*, says he, *there is made about getting of Latin, his (a young Gentleman's) Mother may teach it him herself, if she will but spend two or three Hours in a Day with him, and make him read the Evangelists in Latin to her. For she need but buy a Latin Testament, and having got some body to mark the last Syllable but one, in Words of above two Syllables, (which is enough to regulate her Pronunciation) read daily in the Gospels, and then let her avoid understanding them in Latin, if she can. And when she understands the Evangelists in Latin, let her in the same Manner read Æsop's Fables, and so proceed on to Eutropius, Justin, and other such Books. I do not mention this as an Imagination*

*of what I fancy may do, but as of a Thing I have known done, and the Latin Tongue with Ease got this Way.*

To conclude, the Use of *Literal Translations* has no Difficulty in it, employs nothing but Memory. The Boys have proper Words all ready at hand, without the tedious and oftentimes fruitless Labour of hunting and poring in a Dictionary, or that of troubling their Master or School-fellows for them; and so go smoothly forward, without any Rubs in their Way, or Loss of Time, and with a great deal of Satisfaction to find their Business so very easy. And I shall venture to say, what I believe few Men of Sense, that will but duly consider what has been said above, will gainsay, That a Boy by the Help of *Literal Translations* would make a better Progress in the Language in one Year, than without them he could do in three or four.

NOR are *Literal Translations* of Latin Authors useful only for the lower Forms of a School, but likewise for the higher, or such as can read them pretty well, without any such Help, as well to bring them to a more compleat Acquaintance with them, in the most expeditious Manner, as likewise to a Readiness in the writing and speaking of proper Latin, by reading the Translation into the original Latin of the Author. Constant Conversation in Latin with such as talk it well, would indeed be of great Use for that Purpose. But then very little can be done in that Way at School. For to confine Boys to the talking of Latin amongst themselves, before they have attained any tolerable Skill in the Language, is absurd, and a Means to prevent their ever speaking or writing it well. If Boys are to be so confined, they ought to be constantly attended by a good Master, to help them out upon all Occasions, by furnishing them with proper Language. But this is manifestly impracticable, where there are but two Masters in a School, or, as is oftentimes the Case, but one. A ready and proper Use of the Latin Tongue is a Matter of very great Difficulty, and never to be attained by Boys talking barbarously amongst themselves; if it is at all attainable at School. For my Part I never yet knew so much as one Instance of its being attained there, in any School that has come within the Reach of my Observation, or indeed any thing like it. Nay I have talked with very ingenious Men of uncommon Learning, and besides Persons of considerable Experience in that Way, who looked upon the bringing Boys at School to any thing of a true and genuine Latin Style wholly impracticable. Now, tho' I will not affirm this, yet



yet I must be allow'd to say, it is a Matter of very great Difficulty, insomuch that I greatly question, whether any Method that can be taken with them, will be found generally successful, in any reasonable Time, besides this I here recommend. All the Grammar indeed necessary for the Purpose, may easily be taught them: But when that is done, the Main of the Difficulty is still behind, as every one must be sensible that knows much of the Latin Tongue. A ready Use of proper Terms, and of proper Phrases, or Forms of Expression upon all Occasions, seems hardly attainable in any reasonable Time, or the longest Term of the Continuance of Boys at Grammar-Schools, but in the Method I propose. This, I say, will be the most ready expeditious Method that can be taken, at School however, to furnish the Mind with a Plenty of Words, and a Variety of Phrases and Expressions for the same Sense, and that without any Danger of Error, which the Use of Dictionaries and Phrase-books would be attended with. For none indeed can receive any great Benefit from them for that Purpose, but such as are good Judges in the Latin Tongue, and well acquainted with the Idiom thereof already.

*LITERAL Translations* Boys are to begin with, and after they have gone through four or five Authors, in the Method of reading such Translations into the very original Latin of the Authors, they are to be advanced to *free and elegant Translations*. Two or three of the finest Classick Historians, with *Terence*, and some of the Epistles, and other Pieces of *Tully*, published with such Translations, would, in Conjunction with the Classick Historians I have already published with *Literal Translations*, be sufficient for the Purpose of attaining a ready Use of a good Latin Stile, perhaps equal to Conversation itself, if not preferable to it, at least in one Respect more advantageous, by furnishing the *Tyro* with better Latin for his English, as oft as he wants it, than any, even the greatest Masters of the Latin Tongue, could help him to, in the Way of Conversation. For the great Advantage of constant Conversation for the Attainment of any Language, lies in the perpetual Exercise of the Invention, in what a Man says himself, and the like perpetual Assistance given to his Invention, in the constant Suggestion of proper Language by those he converses with. Now both these Advantages are to be had from the Method of Proceeding here advised, and the latter of them to a greater Degree of Perfection, than can be had in the Way of Conversation. For in conversing



to attain the Use of a Language, the Learner employs his Invention to express his Thoughts properly; he hunts and casts about continually for Words and Phrases that may suit his Design. If he delivers himself improperly, or sticks and stammers for want of Language, those he converses with correct his Improperities, and help him to what is proper, which he carefully attends to, and repeats, it may be, two or three Times to himself, to make it stick by him, against another Occasion. Just so too in attempting to read a Translation into Latin, the Learner stretches his Invention, and studies for proper Words and Phraseology, viz. that of the Original, which he has perused carefully over, comparing it Period by Period with the Translation to prepare him for the Work he is upon. If he cannot satisfy himself therein, or is at a Stop, one single Cast of his Eye upon the Latin Column informs him in what he wants, which he reads with close Attention over and over, in order to remember it against a repeated Perusal of the Paragraph or Chapter. Thus the Invention is as much exercised and assisted in this Way of using Translations, as in Conversation; in which Exercise and Assistance given to the Invention lies the whole Advantage of Conversation for the attaining of a Language. Nay, the Invention is more substantially assisted in the former Case. For the Classick Authors were Men of the most eminent Parts, who writ in their native Language, writ at Leisure and upon Deliberation, reviewed and corrected their Works, over and over, thereby reducing them to such an Accuracy and Exactness, as no modern Talker of Latin must pretend to in any Extempore Effusion, or the Swiftnes and Hurry of Conversation. So that I think, I need not scruple to pronounce, that the Way of using Translations for the attaining to speak Latin, which I here advise, is even preferable to the best Conversation that is to be had in that Language.

BUT *Literal Translations* of Latin Authors are not only very useful for Boys at School, but Men too, especially such as having got a pretty good Insight into the Latin Tongue at School, but through Disuse forgot it in a great Measure, are desirous to recover it: Which may be done with a great deal of Ease, by the Help of such Books as I have already publish'd, viz. *Cordery, Erasmus, Eutropius, Florus, C. Nepos, Justin, Suetonius, Introduction to the making of Latin, a new Grammar of the Latin Tongue*. By the Help, I say, of these already publish'd, and some few more of the Classick Authors I propose to publish, partly with *Literal*, and partly

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partly with free and proper Translations, like that of my *Suetonius*, with this of *Sallust*, by an Examination of which Gentlemen may judge, what they are to expect from me in a *Translation of Livy*, which I may perhaps in time attempt, if I find the Publick disposed to give Encouragement for it. One Hour or two employed in reading Classick Authors with such Translations, every Day, for a Year together, will bring Gentlemen that are ignorant of the Latin Tongue, to read Prose with Ease and Pleasure; after which the Poets will not be difficult for them to understand, by the Help of such Notes as they are published with, especially now the Way is paved for them, by my *Literal Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses*. So that I am not wholly without Hopes, I may, by the Books I have publish'd, to facilitate the Learning of the Latin Tongue, have done a Piece of acceptable Service to such Gentlemen, as are desirous of regaining or improving the Skill they had acquired at School. Few grown People will ever have the Patience to hammer out such a Language as the Latin, by the Help of a Dictionary. That would require more Time than any one in a Thousand can or will spare. But in this Way of Proceeding, the regaining, or improving in, the Latin Tongue, will but be a new Kind of Diversion, which the World has hitherto been unacquainted with. The Time Gentlemen need to employ that Way, is less than those who are the most taken up with Business, usually spend upon their Pleasures.

I PROCEED now to treat of *Free and Proper Translations*, wherein a large Liberty is taken of departing from the Letter of the Latin, in order to make the most handsome proper English. Now the great Usefulness of Classick Authors published with such Translations is so very apparent, that I wonder no body has attempted any thing of this Kind before me. English Translations indeed of many of them have been published by themselves, as being designed, I suppose, purely for the Use of such as are ignorant of the Latin Tongue, by presenting them, for their Information or Amusement, with that in English, which they could not come at in the Original, without any further View or Intention at all. But then such Translations may be of the greatest Use for other important Purposes, upon account of which it is highly convenient to have them published along with the Originals. As,

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I. CLASSICK Authors so published will be vastly serviceable for the easy and speedy Improvement of such as having no great Acquaintance with the Latin Tongue, are desirous of attaining a competent Skill therein, so as to read Authors of all Sorts easily and familiarly. I do not say that Translations, wherein a good deal of Freedom is taken of departing from the Letter or Words of the Original, are at all for the Purpose of such as have but little or no Knowledge of the Latin Tongue, to begin with, in order to their learning of that Language. No. Such ought in the first Place to make Use of Literal Translations, 'till they have got a pretty general Acquaintance with Words; after which they may proceed to such as are Free and Proper, by the Help whereof they will read an Author substantially over in a fourth Part of the Time they could do without, to speak within Compass.

II. THE publishing of Classick Authors with proper and handsome Translations, will be very convenient for those that are desirous to attain a Faculty of writing and speaking Latin with Propriety and Readiness. The Way will be to read the Original, and Translation together, 'till they can readily render the latter into the Words of the original Latin precisely and exactly. The being thus accustomed to see the Idiom of the two Languages go constantly together, joined with continual Efforts for rendering the one by the other, will make the Idiom of the Latin Tongue almost as familiar to the Mind as that of the English. And I shall be bold to say, that this is far beyond every Thing else that can be done, at School however, for the easy and ready Attainment of a good Latin Stile. But upon this Point I have enlarged sufficiently above.

III. ANOTHER Use that may be made of Classick Authors so published, is for the easy quick Attainment of a good English Stile. And the Way thereto is here again for a Person to compare the Original and Translation together, 'till he is able to render the Latin Text very readily into the precise Words of the Translation. What woful Stuff do Boys at School, for want of this Help, usually render the Classick Authors into, in the construing of their Lessons? By which we may easily account for what some have observed (Mr. Locke and the *Spectator*, if my Memory fails me not) that Men educated to Letters, who have threshed hard at Latin for nine or ten Years together, are oftentimes very deficient in their own Language: And no wonder. For how should those who have for so many Years together at School, been



so much inured to vile barbarous Language, be able to deliver themselves in much better, with any great Ease or Readiness. It is Use makes Perfection in every Thing Mankind have Occasion to learn in order to practice. And therefore it is not to be expected, that our Youth, after they have run through the Course of a Grammar-School, should have any Talent at the writing or speaking handsome English, with any Ease or Fluency, if they have never been used to any thing of that Kind there, but instead thereof, have had the Relish of their Minds vitiated, by a perpetual Run of improper barbarous Language, or meer Gibberish. But in the Way of Proceeding here advised to, the Case is the Reverse. The Invention's being so constantly exercised in Search of proper handsome Language, and withal as constantly assisted in the most substantial Manner, and presently set a going again, in case of any Stop or Difficulty, must needs render such Language very familiar to the Mind, and make it occur upon all Occasions of Writing or Speaking, with great Ease and Readiness. In short, I say, this Way of using free and proper Translations of Classick Authors, is so apparently of the greatest and most excellent Use, for the Purpose of writing and speaking good English, with Ease and Fluency, that, in my Opinion, the Matter can admit of no Dispute amongst Persons of any Sense or Consideration at all.

THE several Uses above-mentioned to be made of Classick Authors, published together with handsome elegant Translations, shew of what prodigious Advantage it would be to our Grammar-Schools, to have some of the choicest among them so published. Half a Dozen such thrown into our Schools, and used there as they should be, would certainly work a wonderful Effect, such as would soon be very visible all the Nation over, by a much greater and quicker Improvement of Youth in both the Languages of Latin and English together. Now the Way of exercising Boys in Classicks so published, would be, to make them get three or four Lessons in the Original to read exactly into the Translation; and when that is done, to make them go the same Lessons over again, and get the Translation to read as exactly back again, into the Original Latin. This (I say it again, and desire the Reader would take Notice of it) will, in my Opinion, be the most effectual expeditious Method to bring Youth to an easy elegant Use of both Languages, that can possibly be taken with them.



FROM the whole of what has been said upon this Subject of Translations, I shall venture to draw this Conclusion, that a Man of but a very moderate Skill in the Latin Tongue, may acquit himself in the teaching of it, by the Help of Translations, with much greater Success, than the most able Critick in the Language can do without. I have had as much Experience in the Business of Education, as most Men that have engaged in it. I have taught in the common Method, and in my own, so far as it was practicable (for we are yet far from having all the Classics published with Translations, that are necessary for the Assistance of our Youth at School, to say nothing of other Helps that are wanting) I add too, that I have thought as much upon the Subject of Education, as perhaps any Man whatever; and I do pretend to say, that in the common Method of Education, where the Use of Literal Translations is disallowed, Youth must thereby alone suffer a Loss of at least two Years Time, upon a moderate Computation. So that take two Boys of equal Age and Capacity, and let one start two Years before the other, in the reading of Authors, according to the vulgar Way of Proceeding, and I will be answerable for it, that the latter shall, by the Help of Translations, in a Year, or two at most, clearly out-do the former, that had so much the Start of him. Now if this be so, as I am pretty sure of it, here is two Years Time quite lost; to which if we add two Years more, Boys lose by trifling in *Lily's Grammar*, which I am sure is but a reasonable Supposition, here is a Loss of no less than four Years of the properest Time in human Life for the Learning of Languages, to be charged to the Account of the usual Management of Youth in Grammar-Schools, with Respect to those two Articles alone, the rejecting of proper Helps for reading the easier Authors, and the Use of an ill-contrived Grammar in Latin.

Now if this Time was to be saved, by receiving into our Schools a competent Number of the Classics with Literal Translations, and the Use of a compendious Methodical Grammar in English; and the other Faults in the vulgar Way of teaching, which I have taken Notice of in my *Essay upon Education*, were reformed, and other Helps provided for Schools, which I have there directed to, what a prodigious Advantage would it be to the Youth of the Nation? How finely might such as are naturally qualified to make Scholars (for all are not so) go furnished to an University, by the Age of eighteen or nineteen Years? which is as soon, I think,

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think, as Youth ought to be sent thither, let their Parts be what they will. They would not only acquire a much greater Acquaintance with the Languages and Antiquities of ancient Greece and Rome, than they now usually do in the best Schools, but go off prettily accomplished in their own Language, with a competent Skill in History and Geography, both Ancient and Modern, the Use of the Globes, Chronology, &c. What a Noble Foundation would thus be laid for Academical Studies? And if this be so, the Matter may well deserve the most serious Consideration of all sober worthy Gentlemen, concerned for the Good of their own Children, and that of their native Country together.

I HAVE now done with this important Article of Education, and I hope, done enough to satisfy any reasonable unprejudiced Reader, of the Necessity for a further Reformation of the vulgar Method of Proceeding in our Schools, as to this Particular. I flatter myself, that what has been said, carries so much Light and Evidence along with it, that very little, if any thing at all, can be said against it, with any Appearance of Reason. And if so, it were much to be wished, our School-Masters, who still stand out against a Thing so plainly for their own Ease and Interest, as well as the Good of the Publick, would take the Matter under their most serious Consideration. But whilst Prejudice, or a supine Neglect of Information in some, and a haughty Disdain in others to receive any Instructions, or accept of any Helps, from one they conceive perhaps to be much below them, keep so many of our Masters up to old Forms, the Youth of the Kingdom suffer miserably by it in their Education. And therefore it were further to be wished, that Gentlemen who are convinced of the Reasonableness of what I have been pleading for, would be pleased to add the Weight of their Authority to my poor Endeavours, and discountenance by their Resentment, the Practice of such Absurdity upon their Sons, as still generally prevails in the Education of Youth in Grammar-Schools. But after all, if any School-Masters or others, upon the Perusal of what has been said above, remain dissatisfied, and still think the old Way of going to work preferable to what I here advise, I wish they would be so kind as to communicate to the Publick their Sentiments upon the Matter, by a full and particular Answer to this *Dissertation*. If they write in any thing of a plausible and civil Manner, they shall receive as civil an Answer. But if after so fair an Invitation, nothing shall appear in Vindication of the common Method,

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thod, the World, I suppose, will easily guess the Reason of it; and those who follow that Method, may do well to take Notice thereof, and reflect well upon it. All I shall add, is, that such Gentlemen as like the Sentiments delivered in this Dissertation, may, I humbly presume to hope, find many more equally agreeable to them, upon all the Branches of Education, in my *Essay* upon the Subject, as likewise upon all the Branches of Literature, in a Book I published some Time ago, under the Title of, *An Essay upon Study, wherein Directions are given for the due Conduct thereof, and the Collection of a Library proper for the Purpose, consisting of the choicest Books in all the several Parts of Learning.*

JOHN CLARKE.



C. CRIS-



# C. CRISPI SALLUSTII VITA.

**B**ONORUM Virorum timiditati, inconstantiae, aut imprudentiae vix ignoscere possumus, si quid aliquando moribus suis indignum, & ante actae Vitae minus consentaneum protulerint. Sed multo magis iram nostram movent improborum honesti sermones; quibus, ut nequitiam suam occultent, certiusque noceant, uti solent; nihil enim sceleratius, quam armis Virtutis uti, ut Viti-um tuearis. Non puto autem quemquam pravae hujus simulationis labe magis infectum vixisse, quam celeberrimum Historicum C. CRISPUM SALLUSTIUM, ut liquebit ex ejus vita; quam ex Veteribus colligere statui, ut quicumque eam legent, hoc exemplo intelligant, non esse propterea existimandum bonum quemquam fuisse, quod Virtutem calamo defenderit, nisi constet mores cum sermonibus consensisse. Nemo certe elegantius & acrius in suae aetatis vitia, quam SALLUSTIUS, invec-tus est; nec quisquam vitae minus severae fuit.

Natus



Natus erat (a) Amiterni, in Sabinis, apud quos extant etiamnum antiquae severitatis reliquiae, anno ab Urbe condita (b) dclxix. L. Cornelio Cinna III. & Cn. Papirio Carbone Coss. Hi Sullae infensi bellum civile concitarunt, quod non desit, nisi postquam Sulla, triennio post, rerum potitus est. His annis, omnis generis flagitia in Italia commissa, plebeiaeque & nobiles familiae gravissimas calamitates passae sunt; unde intelligere licet miserrimo ac flagitiosissimo aevo natum esse *Sallustium*, & quo multo plura, quae vitaret, quam quae sequeretur, videbat. Parentes tamen ejus inculpatae vitae fuisse credibile fit, quod priscus Declamator, qui nomine *Ciceronis* in *Sallustium* invectus est, omniaque conquisivit, quae in eum dici possent, nihil in fama, rumoribusque subsequenter aetatis invenerit, quod iis exprobraret. Patrem certe *Sallustii* se praeterire ait; qui si, inquit, numquam in vita sua peccasset, tamen majorem injuriam Reipublicae facere non potuisset, quam quod eum talem filium genuerat. Subjicit, se non exsequi si qua in pueritia peccasset *Sallustius*, ne parentem ejus accusare videretur, qui eo tempore summam ejus potestatem habuit. Quae verba satis ostendunt, probra nulla in Historici nostri parentes tunc temporis jacta; neque enim iis vehemens Declamator pepercisset, ut *Sallustii* nequitiam credibiliorem redderet.

Plebeiam ejus familiam, non patriciam, ut nonnulli volunt, fuisse liquet, ex eo quod Tribunus Plebis fuerit; ac sane ubique in nobiles invehitur, ac praesertim in Historia Belli Jugurthini, & posteriore Epistola ad C. Caesarem de Republica Ordinanda.

(a) Vide Eusebium in Chron, ad An. MDCCCXXXI. (b) A. C. LXXXV.

A teneris annis excultam eloquentiam, & operam diligentem litteris a *Sallustio* datam, satis ostendunt ejus scripta; neque enim ita scribunt, qui serius sese ad litterarum studia contulerunt. Ideo fidem ei minime detraxerim dicenti *Epist. 11. ad Caesarem postquam sibi aetas, ingeniumque adolevisset, se baud ferme armis atque equis corpus exercuisse, sed animum in litteris agitasse; & quod natura firmitus erat, ingenium in laboribus habuisse.* Sed & hoc diserte testatur (a) *Suetonius*; Praeceptorem enim ejus fuisse docet *Atteium Praetextatum*, nobilem Grammaticum Latinum, qui se *Philologum* vocavit, & qui *Sallustium* familiarissime coluit. Vix tamen videtur, more aliorum, causas actitasse, ut gratiam ac famam sibi actionibus forensibus compararet. Nulla certe memoria ejus rei, apud veteres; nec *Cicero*, qui tot aequalium suorum, qui operam suam venditarunt in foro, meminit, *C. Crispi Sallustii* mentionem ullam usquam fecit. Si quis silentii causam fuisse inimicitiam, quae inter eos fuit, suspicetur; doceat cur *Cicero* ejus saltem obiter non meminerit, ut vituperaret. Ac sane genus eloquentiae *Sallustianae* minus aptum foro fuit; aptissimum *Historiae*, quae ab otiosis legitur. Quare (b) *Quintilianus*, vitari oportere judicat in causis agendis illam *Sallustianam* (quamquam in ipso virtutis locum obtinet) brevitatem, & abruptum sermonis genus, quod otiosum fortasse lectorem minus fallit, audientem transvolat.

Declamator, (c) quem dixi, turpissimam adolescentiam *Sallustio* exprobrat, nefandarumque voluptatum amorem objicit; quae criminationes, ut falsae esse possunt, non omnino incredibiles ob sequuta flagitia videntur. *Domum paternam*, si accusatori credi-

(a) In Lib. de Illustribus Grammaticis c. 10. (b) Lib. iv. Cap. 2. (c) Cap. 5.

mus, ~~vivo patre~~, turpissime venalem habuit, ac vendidit; moxque coegit ex moerore patrem, quo nondum mortuo, jam pro herede omnia gerebat. Nec aetatis tirocinio lapsus, postea se correxerat, sed abiit in sodalitium Sacrilegi nescio cujus Nigidiani; bis accusatus est apud Judices, bis absolutus; verum ita ut non innocens esse, sed Judices pejerasse viderentur.

Cum ad capeffendos Reipublicae honores contenderet, (a) Quaesturam est consequutus, quam si petiit legitimo anno, hoc est, vigesimo quinto, Quaestor fuit A. U. C. (b) DCCXV. Quinto Caecilio Metello Celere & L. Afranio Coss. Aliosne honores ambiverit, an difficultatibus deterritus ad privatam vitam, iis missis, concefferit, non satis liquet. Ab hoc certe tempore nullos honores, ad Tribunatum usque Plebis, gessit. In ipso adolescentiae ardore, videtur ea admisisse, quae aeternam nomini ejus infamiam inusserunt. (c) M. Varro Scriptor gravissimus, in libro quem inscripserat *Pius*, aut *de Pace*, C. Sallustium in adulterio deprehensum cum Fausta, Sullae filia, a Milone ejus viro loris bene caesum, &, cum pecuniam dedisset, dimissum fuisse prodidit.

Attamen A. U. C. DCCII. (d) Tribunatum Plebis adeptus est, tempore quo usque adeo turbata erat Respublica, ut eo deventum sit, ut Cn. Pompejus Magnus Consul, sine collega, crearetur. Cum autem paullo ante T. Annius Milo P. Clodium occidisset, Pompejusque legem de vi tulisset, qua instituebatur quaestio de ea caede; ulciscendi occasionem nactus Sallustius, sibi non defuit. Cum duobus aliis Tribunis Plebis inimicissimas conciones, ut scribit Asconius Pedianus in Ciceronis Milonianam, de Milo-

(a) Ibidem. (b.) A. C. LX. (c) Apud Aul. Gellium Lib. XVII. c. 18. Vide & veterem Scholiam Horatii ad Sat. II. Lib. I. (d) A. C. N. LII.

ne habuit, invidiosas etiam de Cicerone, quod Milonem summo studio defenderet; eratque maxima pars multitudinis infensa non solum Miloni, sed ipsi etiam, propter invisum patrocinium, Ciceroni. Postea tamen cum de accusandi studio multum remississet Sallustius, in suspitione fuit in gratiam rediisse cum Milone & Cicerone.

Crediderim, hisce temporibus, scriptam fuisse historiam Catilinae Conjunctionis; cum Sallustius, exacto Tribunatus tempore, privatus ageret, nec Ciceroni esset infensus; rem enim ita narrat, ut ea lecta historia, nemo non acta Ciceronis sit probaturus. Forte & bellum Jugurthinum, & Civilia, quae id insequuta sunt, aliaque cum iis connexa, eodem illo tempore conscripsit, aut aliquanto posterius. Certe non sunt ea scripta hominis, adolescentis, testaturque ipse, initio conjunctionis Catilinae, se tum demum Historiam aggressum scribere, (a) *ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, & sibi reliquam aetatem a Republica procul habendam decrevit*; quod vix ante Tribunatum, quem anno aetatis xli. gessit, fieri potuit. Tum vero statuit res gestas Populi Romani carptim (sic ipse loquitur) ut quaeque memoria digna viderentur perscribere; eo magis, quod ei a spe, metu, partibus Reipublicae animus liber erat. Haec sunt verba hominis honores nullos amplius sperantis, aut certe ambitionem egregie dissimulantis. At nec ante dissimularat honorum cupiditatem; nec postea, rerum potiente Caesare, eorum contemptum prae se tulit.

Itaque ante omnia Catilinariam conjunctionem, quae contigerat anno ejus vitae xxx, ac proinde cujus testis fuerat, scribere undecim circiter post annis aggressus est, si calculos recte ponimus. Tum Ju-

(a) Cap. 3.



gurthinum bellum, quod diu antequam nasceretur, & Civile, quod eo puero gestum est, conscripsit. Periit postremum Opus, si fragmenta quaedam excipias, quae tamen sat ampla ad nos pervenerunt, ut ex iis intelligere possimus, non minus accurate ac cetera perscriptum fuisse. (a) Sed mihi videor ex loco *Ausonii* posse colligere tempora, quorum Historiam scripserat *Sallustius*, in iis libris qui perierunt. *Ausonius* in Idyllio xxxii, ad Nepotem, docet puerum, quos libros legere eum oporteat, & quos ipse, in gratiam ejus in manum iterum sumere sit paratus, Itaque memorato *Terentio*, sic loquitur de *Sallustii* libris:

*Jam facinus, Catilina, tuum; Lepidique tumultum, Ab Lepido, & Catulo, jam res & tempora Romae Orfus, bis senos seriem connecto per annos. Jam lego civili mistum Mavorte duellum, Movit quod socio Sertorius exsul Ibero.* Haec sunt omnia opera *Sallustii*, excepto bello Jugurthino, quod cur omiserit *Ausonius*, non intelligo. Forte aliquot versus vetustate interciderunt. I. Occurrit bellum Catilinarium, de quo nihil necesse est dicere. II. Historia tumultus excitati a *Marco Aemilio Lepido*, anno Urbis Conditae dclxxxvii postquam anno superiori Consul fuisset: Is tumultus a *Pompejo* & *Catulo* oppressus est, eodem anno. III. Inde *Sallustius* scripserat historiam rerum in Republica Romana per duodecim annos gestarum, ante Lepidi tumultum; quorum duodecim annorum initium fecerim circiter ab anno U. C. dclxiii, quo bellum Marficum inchoatum, ab eo enim tempore, usque ad extremam Dictaturam *Sullae*, duodecim circiter anni fluxerunt. Multa autem inveniuntur fragmenta *Sallustii*, ex quibus liquet eum res a *Sulla* gestas scripsisse; quae ea

(a) *Sustonijs de Ill. Gramm. cap. x.*

temporis intercapedine continentur. iv. Bellum scripserat Sertorianum, quod coeperat sub finem vitae Sullae, proximeque duodecim annos memoratos consequebatur; Metellus enim in Hispaniam contra Sertorium missus est anno U. C. DCLXXIV. qui duodecim illorum annorum ultimus fuit. Si ea Historia ad receptas usque Hispanias pertexta est, quod credibile videtur, pertinuit ad annum DCLXXXI. nam eo demum anno, occisis Sertorio & Perperna, pacatae sunt Hispaniae.

Hinc videmus quamvis *Sallustius* carptim scripsisset Historiam Romanam, nec continua temporum serie lucubrationes suas edidisset, ex tribus postremo memoratis operibus potuisse contexi circiter octodecim annorum Historiam; quae utinam sane existeret! Fragmenta enim ejus sitim nostram excitant, non restinguunt. Hi autem libri, quamvis ab auctore eo ordine, quem memorat *Ausonius*, editi, videntur postea a Grammaticis in ordinem quemdam reducti, ut ex tribus operibus una conflaretur Historia, Librique ejus perpetuo ordine a primo ad ultimum decurrerent, commodiusque ad testimonium citarentur. *Asinius Pollio*, in libro quo *Sallustii* scripta reprehenderat, ut nimia priscorum verborum adfectione oblita, tradebat, *In eam rem adiutoriū ei fecisse maxime quemdam Atteium Praetextatum, nobilem Grammaticum Latinum, declamantium deinde adiutorem atque praeceptorem.* Ab hoc aiebat *Sallustium* Historiam scribere aggressum, breviario rerum omnium Romanarum, ex quibus quas vellet eligeret, instructum fuisse, antiquaque ei verba & figuras solitum eum esse colligere. Videtur Grammaticus non ignobilis ea in re ingenio ac voluntati *Sallustii* gratificatus esse, potius quam suum ipsius iudicium sequutus; nam in praeceptis Rhetoricis ad *Asinium Pollionem*, ei nihil aliud suadebat, ut prodidit *Suetonius*, quam

ut noto, civilique & proprio Sermonē uteretur; vitaretque maxime obscuritatem & audaciam in translationibus. Credibile est Sallustium ea re gravitatem styli captaſſe, & priſcorum illorum Romanorum ſermonem imitatum, quorum moribus erat diſſimillimus, ut flagitioſae vitae maculas elueret, perſuaderetque iis, quibus ſatis notus non erat, falſa eſſe omnia, quae de illo minus honeſta jaſtabantur.

Verum hae artes belle homini non ceſſerunt, nam anno (a) U. C. dcciv. Coſſ. L. Aemilio Paulo & C. Claudio Marcello, Appius Claudius Pulcher Cenſor, non repugnante Collega L. Calpurnio Piſone, omnes libertinos, ut docet Dio Lib. xl. multos etiam nobilium, atque inter eos Crispi Salluſtium, qui hiftoriam conſcripſit, Senatu ejecit. Quod factum, ſi veteribus (b) Grammaticis credimus, propter adulteria; dicitur enim ab iis Salluſtius tanto ardore inſaniviſſe in libertinas, quanto moechus in matronas, quod cum illi in Senatu a Cenſoribus obiectum eſſet, reſpondit ſe non matronarum, ſed libertinarum ſectatorem eſſe. Quare ex Senatu, inquit, ejectus eſt. Hoc quoque ei exprobrat perſonatus ille (c) Cicero, qui Declamatione in ejus mores invectus eſt. Idem nos docet, poſtquam Cenſores. Senatum, more majorum legiſſent, nuſquam conſpectum eſſe Salluſtium Romae, ſuſpicaturque tum ſe conjeſſiſſe in ea caſtra, quo omnis ſentina Reipublicae confluxerat; hoc eſt, in Galliam ad Caefarem ſe contuliſſe. Non minoribus (d) conviciis eum exagitavit Lenaeus, Pompeji Magni libertus, ex amore erga patroni memoriam, quem Salluſtius ſcripſerat oris probi, animo inverecundo fuiſſe. Ideo Lenaeus poſtea Hiftoricum noſtrum acerbiffima Satyra, ut docet Suetonius, laceravit, laſturum & lurconem & nebulonem popi-

(a) A. Cbr. N. L. (b) Schol. in Sat. 11. Lib. 1. Horatii. (c) Cap. 5. & 6. (d) Suetonius de illuſtr. Gramm. cap. 15.



nonemque appellans, & vita scriptisque monstrosum, praeterea priscorum, Catonisque verborum in-eruditissimum furem. Qua ex occasione, sic de Pompejo scripssisset Sallustius, post interitum ejus Historiae, conjicere non possumus, at constat Caesarianis partibus e Senatu expulsus fuisse.

Cum posteaquam Respublica annis oppressa est, anno sequente, (a) U. C. dccv. C. Claudio Marcello & L. Cornelio Lentulo Coss. a Caesare (b) est in Senatum reductus; Quaestura iterum accepta, ut honestius in amplissimum ordinem reciperetur. Eum autem bonorem, si adversae famae credimus, ita gessit, ut nihil in eo non venale habuerit, cujus aliquis emptor fuit. Nihil non aequum ac verum duxit, quod ipsi facere collibuisse. Propter iteratam Quaesturam, priscus Declamator, cujus verba protulimus, bis Senatorem, bis Quaestorem factum ait. At Dio Lib. XLII. vult, ut recuperaret dignitatem Senatoriam, Praetorem creatum. Malim, Quaestura in eum collata, factum hoc esse; eo enim Magistratu capto, Romana Juventus ingrediebatur Senatum.

Hoc tempore, viris doctis videtur scripsisse ad Caesarem duas illas Literas, quae perperam Orationes inscribuntur, de Republica ordinanda. Sed posteriores quidem, hoc tempore, scripsisse potuit; at priores non nisi propemodum confecto bello scripsit. Malim ergo hasce differre in annum dccvii. aut certe ad finem anni antecedentis, cum victus esset Cn. Pompejus.

Igitur sub finem (c) anni dccvi. cum in Asia esset Caesar, ab iis (d) qui Roma ad eum venerant cognovit, literisque urbanis animadvertit multa Romae male & inutiliter administrari, neque ullam

(a) Cicer. in Sallust. cap. 6. (b) A. C. N. XLIX. Id. c. VII.  
(c) A. C. N. XLVII. (d) Hirtius de Bel. Alexand. cap. LXV.

partem Reipublicae fatis commode geri; quod & contentionibus tribunitiis perniciosae seditiones orirentur, & ambitione atque indulgentia Tribunorum Militum, & qui legionibus praeerant, multa contra morem, consuetudinemque militarem fierent, quae dissolvendae disciplinae, severitatisque essent. Hanc crediderim occasionem fuisse, scribendi iterum ad Caesarem de ordinanda Republica; qua de re, cogitare serio non potuit, nisi post victum Pompejum. Antea quidem *Sallustius*, Caesare nondum in Macedoniam profecto, vigenteque bello, multa monuerat, ea de re, in Epistola, quae II. Oratio perperam dicitur, ubi de *M. Bibulo* & *L. Domitio*, quasi viventibus loquitur, cum Bibulus mortuus sit ante pugnam Pharsalicam, & Domitius ex ea fugiens interfectus. Sed in altera Epistola, in qua de Bello, quasi confecto, loquitur, rem eandem iterum aggreditur. Itaque, quae prior est, eam oporteret esse posteriorem, quod etiam ipsum ejus, quae posterior est, prooemium fatis ostendit.

Antequam autem Caesar contra Scipionem, Pompeji socerum, in Africam iret, anno U. C. DCCVII. quo Caesar iterum Dictator fuit, M. Antonius Magister Equitum, Praetor factus est *Sallustius*; qui honor videtur non tam monitorum de Republica ordinanda, quam turpium adulationum iis admissarum praemium fuisse. At *Sallustia* propemodum fatalis fuit; (a) cum enim esset in Campania, apud Caesarianos milites, mox in Africam transmittendos, motaque ab iis esset seditio, quam frustra compescere tentavit, ab iis ferme est interfectus. Quin etiam cum Romam ad Caesarem contenderet, ut hac de re certiore faceret, insequuti eum complures militum, obvios quosque occiderunt; ipsum, si adipisci possent, e medio sublaturi.

(a) Ex Dione Lib. XLII.

Caesar vero, placatis militibus, sub brumam in Africam, cum parte exercitus, trajecit, secumque *Sallustium* duxit, quem, paucis diebus postquam adpulisset, cum penuria annonae premeretur, (a) ad Cercinam insulam, quam adversarii tenebant, cum parte navium, ire iussit, quod ibi magnum numerum frumenti esse audiebat. (b) Ejus adventu C. Decimius Quaestorius, qui ibi cum grandi familiae suae praesidio praeerat commeatui, parvulum navigium nactus conscendit, ac se fugae commendavit. *Sallustius* interim a Cercinatibus receptus, magno numero frumenti invento, naves onerarias, quarum ibi satis magna copia fuit, complevit, atque in castra ad Caesarem misit. Quid aliud in eo bello gesserit *Sallustius*, nemo prodidit, sed fidelem ac strenuam operam Caesari navasse, ex praemio intelligere est. (c) Anno enim U. C. dccvii confecto Africano bello, (d) Caesar eum in Numidia recepta, verbo quidem administrandae provinciae causa, reipsa autem expilandae, pro Praetore reliquit. Itaque dona multa *Sallustius* accepit, multa rapuit, Romamque deinde reversus, cum a Numidis accusaretur, maximam infamiam retulit; quod cum libros scripsisset, in quibus copiosa & acerba oratione invectus erat in eos qui ex provinciis quaestum fecissent, rebus ipsis quod scripserat non expressisset. Ne (e) tamen causam diceret, (f) sestertio duodecies cum Caesare pactus est, si credimus personato *Ciceroni*. Gravissimus certe *Historicus Dio*, prodidit eum, licet a Caesare dimissum, suis ipsius scriptis perennem infamiam sibi creasse, quod vita ab iis prorsus dissentiret.

(a) *Hirtius de Bello Afric.* cap. viii. (b) *Ibid.* cap. xxxiv.  
 (c) *A. C. N.* xlvi. (d) *Dion. Lib.* xliii. (e) *Cicer. in Sallust.* cap. 8. (f) *Nonagesies mille ff. eoque amplius.*



Ea praeda, (a) qui modo ne paternam quidem domum redimere poterat, repente tamquam somnio beatus, hortos pretiosissimos, qui (b) *Sallustiani*, ab ejus nomine, dicti sunt, villam Tiburtinam, & alias possessiones sibi comparavit.

Qua ratione, vitam postea traduxerit *Sallustius*, Veteribus tacentibus, nobis non liquet. Credibile est ornandae domui, extruendis villis, deliciisque undiquaque sibi parandis occupatum fuisse; ita ut saluberrimis praeceptis, quae in Historiis tradiderat, exemplo suo, vim pondusque detrudere pergeret. De ejus oratione in *Ciceronem*, & *Ciceronis* in *Sallustium*, nihil addam; quia, licet antiquae sint, nec infra aevum Tiberianum, animi causa, a Rhetore quopiam confictas nemo amplius dubitat.

Septuagesimo aetatis anno, fato functus est, quadriennio (c) ante bellum Actiacum, hoc est, anno (d) U. C. dccxix. S. Pompejo & S. Carnificio Coss. Vir sane fuit memorabilis, si Historias ejus spectes; quae, si nimium antiquioris styli studium excipias, nullis aliis postponendae sunt, principemque locum, inter Romanos Historicos, etiam judicio Veterum, ei pepererunt. Nec brevitatem ac efficaciam singularem dictionis dumtaxat laudant, sed etiam veritatis studium; quod ita intelligendum, ut de aliis loquenti fides habeatur, de se ipsi nihil credatur nisi quod re ipsa comprobatum est. Facile credo, cum se Reipublicae longum valedixisse putaret, (e) *Consilium ei non fuisse*, ut ipse dicit, *secordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere, neque vero, agrum colendo ac venando, servilibus officiis intentum, aetatem egisse*, sed honestioribus studiis & scriptionibus

(a) *Cicer. in Sallust. cap. 8.* (b) *De iis vide Fam. Nardinum Vet. Romae lib. iv. cap. 7.* (c) *Vide Euseb. in Chron.* (d) A. C. N. xxxv. (e) *Conjur. Catil. cap. iv.*

ram dedisse. At nec oblitum deliciarum ac voluptatum opinor; quibus & puer & adolescens & senex, quasi Sirenibus quibusdam adhaesit; nec, ut puto, dum Historias, florente aetate scriptitaret, nuncium remisit.

Idem fecit, quod (a) plerique Philosophorum, disertorum in convicium suum, quos si audias in avaritiam, in libidinem, in ambitionem perorantes, indicium professos putes, adeo redundant ad ipsos maledicta in publicum missa! Interea ejus Historia, ut ceteris omnibus, utamur oportet, quippe quae non minus gravia ac utilia praecepta, exemplaue continet, quam si scriptor sanctitate morum priscos omnes superasset.

(a) Seneca apud Lactant. Lib. iii. cap. 13.









C. CRISPI SALLUSTII  
Bellum Catilinarium:

SIVE DE

Conjuratone Catilinæ.

**O**MNIS homines qui sese student præstare cæteris animalibus, summa opiniti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant, veluti pecora, quæ natura prona atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo & corpore fita est. Animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur. Alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum bellis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur, ingenii, quam virium opibus gloriam quærere; & quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostri

**A**L men, who are desirous to excell other animals, should endeavour by all means not to pass their days in silence, like cattle, which nature has formed in an inclining posture, and a state of subjection to their bellies. But our faculties are of two different kinds, of the body and the soul. 'Tis the business of the soul to command, and that of the body to obey. The one we have in common with the Gods, and the other with Brutes. And therefore to me it appears more adviseable to pursue glory by the abilities of the mind, than those of the body; and since the life we enjoy, is but short, to make our memories as lasting as possible in the world. The splendour, riches

quam maxime longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formæ gloria fluxa atque fragilis est; virtus clara æternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortales certamen fuit; vine corporis, an virtute animi, res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius quam incipias, consulto; &, ubi consulueris, mature factio opus est: Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio veget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperiū id primum fuit) diversi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant. Etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur: sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Græcia Lacedæmonii & Athenienses cœpere urbes atque nationes subigere; lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere; maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare: tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est, in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, ut in bello, valeret; æquabilius atque constantius sese res humanæ haberent: neque

and beauty yield, is fading and frail; but virtue is thought to give an everlasting lustre. Yet it has been a long time a matter of no small debate amongst men, whether success in war has more depended upon strength of body, or the abilities of the mind. For enterprizes of that kind ought not to be undertaken but upon previous deliberation, and when resolved upon, ought vigorously to be put in execution. Thus whilst neither of these things is of itself sufficient, they succeed by the mutual aid of each other.

II. Wherefore in the early ages of the world, Kings (for monarchy seems to have been the first kind of government amongst men) some of them laboured the improvement of their minds, and others of their bodies. At that time indeed mankind were strangers to covetousness, every one being content with his own. But after Cyrus in Asia, and in Greece the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, begun to conquer cities and whole nations, and to look upon the lust of dominion as a sufficient ground of war, and to reckon the greatest glory to consist in the large extent of their conquests; then it was found by experience, that an able head was the most serviceable in war. And if the great abilities of Kings and Commanders produced but as good effects in peace as in war, the affairs of mankind would be in a much more calm and settled state. Nor should we see such hurly-burly, such distraction and confusion spread over the face of the earth.

aliud

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 5

aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret. Nam imperium facile iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum, ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia & æquitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque ab minus bono transfertur. Quæ homines arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti, incultique, vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere: quibus profecto, contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æstumo; quoniam de utraque filetur. Verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere, & frui anima videtur; qui, aliquo negotio intentus, præclari facinoris, aut artis bonæ famam quærit. Sed in magna copia rerum, aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ: etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est. Vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet. Et qui fecere, & qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudqua-

*For dominion is easily secured by the same arts by which it was first acquired. But when idleness has succeeded in the place of industry, and instead of moderation and equity lust and pride prevail, then the fortune of a people changes with their manners. And thus power is ever shifting about from the worse to the better part of men; and the advantages of plowing, sailing, and building, become the perquisites of virtue. But a great many men who minded nothing but eating and sleeping, illiterate and unpolished, have spent their days like strangers in the world, whose happiness, contrary to nature, laid in pampering their bodies, whilst their souls were a burthen to them. The life and death of such as these I reckon much the same, since no notice is taken of either. But he indeed appears to me to be truly alive, and to enjoy life, who is engaged in some useful employment, and endeavours to acquire fame by noble actions, or the practice of some commendable art. But in the midst of plenty for that purpose, nature has pointed out to different men different ways.*

III. *It is a glorious thing to be serviceable to the state, and eloquence is no despiseable talent. A man may make himself famous in peace or in war. Many, as well those that have performed great actions, as those that have given us the history thereof, are highly applauded. And tho' I cannot*  
quam



## 6 C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

quam par gloria sequatur scriptorem & auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta dictis exæquanda sunt: dein, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malevolentia & invidia dicta putant. Ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit: supra, veluti ficta pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus initio, licuti plerique, studio ad rempublicam latus sum: ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinencia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigeant. Quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium; tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur. Ac me, cum ab reliquis malis moribus dissentirem, nihilominus honoris cupido eadem, quæ cæteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur, ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, & mihi reliquam ætatem a republica procul habendam decrevi; non fuit consilium

indeed say, that the Historian and the Hero are entitled to the same share of glory; yet it appears to me a matter of no small difficulty to write history well. First, because in the relation of noble actions, the style must be suited to the grandeur of the subject; and in the next place, because most readers are apt to look upon the censure of any miscarriages, as proceeding from ill-nature and envy. And in accounts of the gallant behaviour, and glorious achievements of worthy men, such things as any one looks upon to have no great difficulty in them, he can read with patience, as credible, but all beyond he treats as meer fiction, and utterly false. When I, was a young man, I was, like most other Gentlemen, very inclinable to engage in the service of the state, but everywhere found great difficulties in the way of such my design. For instead of modesty, justice, and virtue, impudence, bribery and avarice carried all before them. Which tho' I had an abhorrence of, as having never been accustomed to such vile practices, yet those being now become the fashion of the times, my unexperienced youth exposed me to be caught by the baits of ambition. And tho' I did not fall entirely in with a vitious age in other respects, yet I had the same spirit of ambition and envy in me as others had.

IV. Being at last happily delivered from a world of vexation and danger, and resolved no more to meddle in State-Affairs, I was not, however, minded to spend my days in idleness and sloth, or to

focor.

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 7

focordia atque desidia bonum otium contere: neque vero, agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentam ætatem agere: sed a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani strictim, uti quæque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratione, quam verissime poterō, paucis absolvam. Nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existimo, sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. Lucius Catilina nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi & animi & corporis; sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis, grata fuere; ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ, supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cujussub rei simulator ac dissimulador, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: satis loquentiæ,

*employ my life in agriculture, hunting, or the like servile offices; but immediately resumed the pursuit of my former design, from which wicked ambition had diverted me, and determined to set about writing the History of the Roman People, such parts of it, I mean, as appeared to me most worthy of the notice of posterity; and the rather, because my mind was not at all influenced by hope, fear, or party-prejudice. Accordingly I shall in the first place give a brief account of Catiline's conspiracy, and that with all possible regard to truth. For I look upon that design to have been one of the most memorable that ever were, for the strange wickedness and danger of it. Which I shall begin with a short character of the man.*

V. Lucius Catiline was descended of a noble family, and endowed with an extraordinary vigour both of body and mind, but of a wicked perverse disposition. Who had from his youth nothing so much at heart, as civil war, rapine, and embroiling of the State; in which he spent the prime of his years. His body was incredibly qualified for the enduring of hunger, want of sleep, and cold. His mind was daring, crafty, fickle, capable of the most profound dissimulation, and of acting any part whatever, greedy of what was not his own, and lavish of what was, extremely eager

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sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, post dominationem L. Sullæ, lubido maxime invaserat reipublicæ capiundæ: neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque indies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris, & conscientia scelerum: quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores: quos pessuma ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere, ac paucis instituta majorum domi militæque, quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint; & ut paulatim immutata, ex pulcherruma & optuma pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani; qui, Ænea duce, profugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi,

in the gratification of his desires; eloquence enough he had, but little wisdom. His wild soul was ever engaged in the most extravagant projects, things unattainable, and above his sphere. After the tyranny of Sylla, he became passionately fond of seizing the government; and provided he could but bring his purpose about, he cared not at all by what means he did it. His savage soul was more and more agitated with his poverty, and a sense of guilt, both which he had increased by the vile practices above-mentioned. He was moreover encouraged in his enterprize by the wickedness of the times, the City being sadly over-run with two of the worst, but very different sorts of vices, luxury and avarice. And since I am got upon this subject, it may not perhaps be an improper occasion of running back into the early ages of the Roman people, to give an account of the conduct of our ancestors, how they managed their affairs both in peace and war, and to what a height they brought the Roman State; how by degrees it has been changed, and of the most glorious and best, is become the worst and most flagitious.

VI. The City Rome, as far as I can find, was built and first inhabited by the Trojans, who being obliged to fly from their native country, strolled about from place to place, under the leading of Æneas. But with them were joined the Aborigines, a wild sort of people, under no restraint from law or government at all. How-  
post-



# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 9

postquam in una mœnia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est, quam facile coaluerint. Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera, satifque pollens videbatur; ficuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello tentare. Pauci ex amicis auxilio esse. Nam cæteri, metu perculsi, a periculis aberant. At Romani, domi militiæque intenti, festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam, parentefque armis tegere. Post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant; magisque dandis, quam accipiendis, beneficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant. Delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, reipublicæ consultabant. Hi, vel ætate vel curæ similitudine, Patres appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandæ libertatis atque augendæ reipublicæ fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque

ever, upon their uniting and cohabiting in the same city, notwithstanding the wide difference betwixt them, with respect to their language, and manner of life, yet it is incredible to say, how easily they became one people. But after this new state received such an improvement in number of people, manners and territory, as to appear in a prosperous and vigorous condition, their happy circumstances, as is usual in such cases, drew down the envy of their neighbours upon them. Accordingly the neighbouring princes and states presently engaged in war against them; wherein some few of their friends stood by them, whilst the rest, for fear of the worst, kept themselves out of danger. The Romans, however, were not wanting in their endeavours, both at home and abroad, for a vigorous defence, but animated by mutual encouragements, boldly faced their enemy for the security of their liberty, country, and parents. And after they had by their bravery repelled the dangers that threatened them, gave in their turn assistance to their allies and friends; and added to the number of them, more by the conferring of favours, than the receiving of them. Their government was a legal one, under the name of a monarchy. Persons weak of body by reason of their age, but eminent for their wisdom and abilities of mind, were appointed as a council of state, to provide for the publick security; who from their age, or their obligation to a paternal concern for the good of the common-

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convertit, immutato more, annua imperia, binos imperatores sibi fecere. Eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam inolescere animum humanum.

*two magistrates were yearly appointed to govern the state. For this they thought the most likely means to prevent a licentious insolence in their Governors.*

VII. Sed ea tempestate cœpere se quisque magis magisque extollere, ingeniumque in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni, quam mali, suspiciores sunt; semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: Tanta cupido gloriæ inceserat. Jamprimum juvenus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat; magisque in decoris armis & militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebat. Igitur talibus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: Virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat. Quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat. Eas divitias, eam bonam fa-

*wealth, were called Fathers. But when kingly government, which at first proved a means of preserving their liberty, and advancing the publick interest, degenerated into haughtiness and tyranny, it was laid aside, and in room thereof,*

*two magistrates were yearly appointed to govern the state. For this they thought the most likely means to prevent a licentious insolence in their Governors.*

VII. Now every one begun to exert himself, and employ all his faculties, for the publick service. For under Kings, persons of worth and merit are more apt to be looked upon with a jealous eye, than those of a contrary character. For Princes are ever apprehensive of great abilities in their subjects. But after the Roman state had thus recovered its liberty, it's incredible to say, what a mighty improvement it presently received; such an appetite for glory had now prevailed amongst that people. Now the youth, as soon as capable of bearing arms, were trained up in the fatigues of a camp, to the business of war. Handsome arms, and fine war-horses were much more their concern, than the practise of lewdness and luxury. To such men as these hardship was no novelty, no place too rugged or difficult, no enemy was terrible, their resolution bore down all before it. But at the same time there was the highest emulation amongst them in point of glory; every one being zealous to distinguish himself in fight, or the scaling of walls, in the view of his fellow-foldiers. This was their riches, their glory, and what

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## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. II

mam, magnamque nobilitatem putabant. Laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant. Gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maximas hostium copias populus R. parva manu fuderit, quas urbes natura munitas pugnando cepit; ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur. Ea res cunctas, ex lubrico magis, quam ex vero, celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicut ego existumo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere: Verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenire ibi magna scriptorum ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis ea potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Romano nunquam ea copia fuit: Quia prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxime erat. Ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat. Optumus quisque facere, quam dicere; sua ab aliis bene facta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

alone ennobled them, in their opinion. They were greedy of honour, but lavish of their money. Glory they could never have too much of, but for riches a handsome competency sufficed them. And here I could entertain the reader with numerous instances of mighty armies defeated by inconsiderable numbers, and cities wonderfully fortified by nature taken by them. But that would detain me too long from my purpose.

VIII. But fortune has indeed a mighty sway in all things; raises or depresses them at pleasure, rather than according to truth. The actions of the Athenians were, in my opinion, great and glorious enough, but not altogether so considerable as fame represents them. But because that city produced great plenty of fine authors, the exploits of that people are throughout the world celebrated for the greatest that ever were performed by men. Accordingly the courage and conduct of the actors, have been as much magnified, as it was in the power of the finest wits to do it. But this was an advantage the Roman people never had, because the wisest men were always the most engaged in the service of the state; for none pursued the improvement of the mind only, without regard to that of the body. The best men chose rather the part of acting than speaking; and to have their own achievements celebrated by others, rather than write those of others themselves.



IX. Igitur domi militiæque boni mores colebantur. Concordia maxima, minuma avaritia erat. Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis, quam natura, valebat. Jurgia, discordias, similitates cum hostibus exercebant. Cives cum civibus de virtute certabant. In suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia bello, ubi pax evenerat, æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxima documenta hæc habeo; quod in bello sæpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius revocati, prælio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere, aut pulsi, loco cedere auli erant. In pace vero, beneficiis magis, quam metu, imperium agitabant; & accepta injuria, ignoscere, quam persequi, malebant.

X. Sed, ubi labore atque justitia respublica crevit; reges magni bello domiti; nationes feræ, & populi ingentes vi subacti; Carthago æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit; cuncta maria terræque patebant; fortuna sævire ac miscere omnia cœpit. Qui labores,

IX. Good manners therefore were practised both at home and abroad, in the wars. Their unanimity was great, but desires very moderate. Justice and equity prevailed amongst them, not more by the force of laws, than natural inclination. All the differences and quarrels they had were with the enemies of the state. But one with another they had no other contest, than who should behave best. In the worship of the Gods they were magnificent, but thrifty at home, and faithful to their friends. And by the practice of bravery in war, and equity in peace, did they manage themselves and the publick affairs. Of which these things are sufficient proofs, that such as fought the enemy contrary to orders, or kept the field after sounding a retreat, were after punished, than such as deserted, or in time of action quitted their posts. But in peace the administration was managed more in the way of kindness than terrour: And in case of an injury received, they chose rather to forgive, than revenge it.

X. But when by the practice of industry and justice, the Roman state was come to a considerable height, great princes conquered, wild nations and mighty states brought under subjection by dint of arms, and Carthage that was rival with Rome for the empire of the world, utterly destroyed; and all parts of it, whether by sea, or by land, at the devotion of the  
peri-

pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, iis otium, divitiæ, optandæ aliis, oneri miseriæque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniæ, dein imperii cupido crevit. Ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæterasque artis bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud promptum in lingua habere; amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo, æstumare; magisque vultum, quam ingenium, bonum habere. Hæc primo paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari. Post, ubi contagio, quasi pestilentia, invasit; civitas immutata, imperium, ex justissimo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. Sed primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: Quod tamen vitium propius virtuti erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus, ignavus, æque sibi exoptant. Sed ille vera via nititur; huic quia bonæ artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ

Romans; fortune began to shew her malice, and confound all. For they who had endured fatigues, dangers, and the most severe trials, with ease, found peace and plenty (desirable things with the rest of men) to be their bane. First the love of money, and then of power grew upon them, and proved the occasion of all manner of mischief. For avarice was the destruction of faith, honesty, and other good qualities; and in the room thereof, brought in fashion, pride, cruelty, profaneness, and a mercenary spirit. Ambition obliged many to breach of faith, and to have one thing in their hearts, and another upon their tongues; to contract or break friendship, not as honour, but their interest required; and to seem good, rather than be really so. These vices grew up but slowly for some time, and were now and then punished. But the infection at last carrying all before it like the plague, the state was hugely altered, and the government, from being the most just, and the best that ever was, became cruel and intolerable.

XI. But at first ambition more than avarice influenced the minds of the Romans: Which vice, however, had some resemblance of a virtue. For the brave, and the base-spirited, are equally fond of glory, honour, and power. But the former pursues them in the right way; whereas the latter, as destitute of all good qualities, endeavours to come at them in the way of trick and deceit. Avarice  
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studium habet; quam nemo sapiens concupivit. Ea, quasi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat: Semper infinita, insatiabilis est; neque copia, neque inopia minuitur. Sed, postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta republica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere. Domum alius, alius agros cupere; neque modum neque modestiam victores habere; scæda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat. Loca amœna, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliwerant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas; vasa cœlata mirari; ea privatim ac publice rapere; delubra spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia poluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant:

*is nothing but an extravagant desire of money, which no wise man was ever fond of. And this passion, as if it was enforced by the power of enchantment, enervates both the bodies and souls of men, is ever boundless and insatiable, not to be reduced by either plenty or want. But after Lucius Sylla seized upon the government by force of arms, and tho' he begun well, yet run into great outrages, rapine and violence prevailed universally. The conquerors, one set his heart upon a fine house, another upon lands, and in the prosecution of their several desires, had not the least tincture of moderation or modesty at all, but practised all the most abominable excesses of cruelty upon their fellow-citizens. Besides this, L. Sylla, in order to engage the army he had commanded in Asia, to stand by him, did, contrary to the usage of our ancestors, slacken the reins of discipline, in the way of indulgence and profusion, to a great excess. And the pleasant voluptuous country of Asia had, after the war was ended there, strangely softened the rugged minds of the soldiery. There first of all did the Roman troops contract a passion for whoring and drinking, statues, pictures, and fine-wrought plate, which they publickly and privately made plunder of, robbing the temples of the Gods, and sparing no places whatever, whether sacred or profane. For those soldiers, after their conquests in those parts, left the conquered nothing at all. Success in-*



## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 16

Nedum illi, corruptis moribus, victoriæ temperarent.

*deed makes a strong impressiion upon the minds of wise men, and therefore it is not to be wondered at, if an army so corrupted by ill discipline, should make so bad a use of their conquest.*

XII. Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœperunt, & eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur: hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere. Rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divinâ atque humana promiscua, nihil penſi neque moderati habere. Operæ pretium est, cum domos atque villas cognoveris, in urbium modum exædificatas, vivere templa deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant; neque victis quidquam præter injuriæ licentiam, eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quæ fortissimi viri victores hostibus reliquerant: Proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ, nisi his,

*XII. When riches now begun to be in such vast esteem, and to be attended with glory, command, and power; virtue begun to languish, poverty to be accounted matter of reproach, and innocence to pass for ill-nature. Hereupon our youth became infected with luxury, avarice, and pride all together. They now ravaged and wasted all before them, and never satisfied with what was their own, were ever longing for what was not; trampled upon modesty, friendship, chastity, and every thing else, divine or human, without distinction; and throwing off all restraint, had not the least care or concern for any thing that was good. It is worth while to take a view of the fine houses in town and country, and then to visit the temples of the Gods, built by our forefathers, the most religious of mankind. But they graced the temples of the Gods with their piety, and their houses with glory: And took nothing from those they conquered, but the licence of doing mischief. But those I spoke of above, the most worthless of men, have in the most wicked manner ravished from our allies, all the brave old conquerors would have left to their vanquish'd enemies; as if the use of power consisted in the doing of mischief.*

XIII. For why should I spend time in the relation of things, qui



qui videre nemini credibilia sunt; a privatis compluribus subverfos montis, maria constrata esse? Quibus mihi ludibrio videntur fuisse divitiæ; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, per turpitudinem abuti properabant. Sed libido stupri, ganeæ, cæterique cultus non minor incesserat. Viri patimuliebria: Mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere: Vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere: Dormire prius, quam somni cupido esset: Non famem aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem operiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus, haud facile lubidinibus carebat: Eo profusius omnibus modis questui atque sumptui deditus erat.

XIV. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam, quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, alea, manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum æs grande conflave-

*which can appear credible to no one that has not seen them; as the levelling of mountains, building fine palaces in the sea itself, by many private persons; who seem'd to play with their riches, in the way of bantering, as it were, and abusing them in the most scandalous manner, when they might have enjoyed them with honour. Nor were they less extravagant in their amours, and all the articles of furniture and equipage: The men and women were guilty of the most barefaced prostitution. Sea and land were ransacked to furnish out their tables with dainties. And the natural return of sleep, hunger, and thirst, were anticipated by a luxurious indulgence. The practice of these vices first reduced the youth of Rome to want, and then pushed them upon all manner of villany. The mind being once inured to those vile practices, knew not how to forego the gratification of its lusts, and so was the more violently bent upon all the ways of both getting and spending.*

XIV. In so great and so wicked a city, Catiline, as was no hard matter to be sure, had troops of flagitious, profligate fellows, like so many life-guard men, always about him. For all your catamites, cuckold-makers, rakes, that had spent their estates, in all the ways of luxury and lewdness, all such as had run over head and ears in debt, to screen themselves from the punishments due to their crimes, parricides besides from all quar-

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 17

rat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; præterea, omnes undique paricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis, aut pro factis iudicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua perjurio & sanguine civili alebat; postremo, omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat, hi Catilinæ proximi familiarique erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat; quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile par similisque cæteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates appetebat. Eorum animi molles & ætate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam, uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere, aliis canes atque equos mercari: Postremo neque sumptui neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. Scio fuisse nonnullos, quia ita existumarent; juventutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse. Sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.

XV. Jamprimum adolescens Catilina multanefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ; & alia hujuscemodi contra jus

*ters, sacrilegious rascals, such as had been already legally convicted of horrid villanies, or feared so to be; and further, all such as maintained themselves by perjury or murder: Finally, all whom wickedness, want, or a guilty conscience made uneasy; these were Catiline's nearest and most intimate friends. And if any innocent person happened to be engaged in any friendship with him, by daily conversation and wheedling, he was soon made like the rest of the crew. But those he chiefly affected to draw into his party, were young gentlemen. Their minds being; by reason of their age, soft and pliable, were easily cajoled. For, according to their several inclinations, some he furnished with whores, for others he would buy dogs and horses. Finally, he stuck at no cost, or breach of modesty, whatever, to get them into his power, and secure them to his interest. I am sensible, some people were of opinion, that the youth that frequented Catiline's house, were engaged in unnatural lewdness; but this fancy proceeded, I suppose, not so much from any certain evidence of the thing, as other reasons.*

XV. Catiline himself, when a young fellow, had been engaged in several villainous intrigues with a young lady of high quality, one of the Vestal Nuns; and many other the like abominable pranks. At

fasque. Postremo, captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, cujus, præter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adultum ætate; pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quæ quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: Ita conscientia mentem excitam vexabat. Igitur color ei exsanguis, fædi oculi; citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat, ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere. Post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat. Si causa peccandi in præsens minus suppetebat; nihilo minus insontes, sicuti fontes, circumvenire, jugulare. Scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus, aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis

last he fell in love with Aurelia Orestilla, in whom no good man ever commended any thing but her beauty; and because she made a scruple of marrying him, by reason his son was at man's estate, it is believed for a certainty, he murdered him, to make way for so wicked a match. Which indeed, I believe, might be the reason of his pushing his enterprize with so much violence as he did. For his polluted soul, fired with rage against both Gods and men, could find no rest either waking or sleeping; so much was he haunted with the terrours of an evil conscience. Accordingly his complexion was very pale, his eyes ghastly, his gate sometimes quick, sometimes slow: In short, his whole appearance was perfectly that of a mad man.

XVI. Now the young men he wheedled in to join him, as has been above said, he trained up to villany by various ways; from amongst them he used to furnish false witnesses, and others to sign forged deeds, teaching them by that means to set light by their honour, estates, and danger. And after he had utterly suppressed in them all regard to credit or shame, he put them upon greater projects. And if no present opportunity presented for the exercise of their talent, yet he kept them doing, by employing them to circumvent and murder such as had given him no offence, as if they had; that is, to keep their hands and minds in ure, he was wicked and cruel, sociisque



## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 19

fociisque confusus Catilina, simul quod æs alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriæ veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundæ reipublicæ consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus: Cn. Pompejus in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petundi magna spes; Senatus nihil sane intentus: Tutæ tranquillæque res omnes. Sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

*appear'd very secure; and all was safe and quiet; which several things seemed to present Catiline with a favourable opportunity of carrying his point.*

XVII. Igitur circiter Kalendas Jan. L. Cæsare & C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos appellare; hortari alios, alios tentare; opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magnâ præmia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quæ voluit; in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxumâ necessitudo & plurimum audaciæ inerat. Eo convenire senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Antronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. & Ser. Sullæ Servii filii, L. Varguntejus, Qu. Annius, M. Porcius Læcæ, L. Bustia, Q. Curius:

*without any provocation so to be. Catiline confiding in these friends and accomplices, and because the number of persons involved in debt was every where very great, and because too most of Sulla's old soldiers, having made an end of what they had gotten, and remembering full well the plunder they had made upon Sulla's success, wished for a civil war; Catiline, I say, putting these several things together, entered into a design of usurping the government. There was no army in Italy; Cn. Pompey was carrying on a war in the remotest parts of the earth: He himself had great hopes of obtaining the Consulship; the Senate ap-*

*Wherefore about the first of January, in the year of the Consulship of L. Cæsar, and C. Figulus, he applies himself to his associates separately first; some he encouraged, others he tried; he acquaints them with his strength, how little the government was provided to oppose him, and what vast advantages they might promise themselves from the success of the conspiracy. After he had sufficiently sifted them with relation to his design, he draws together such of them as were under the greatest difficulties, and appeared the most daring. Upon that occasion assembled of the Senatorian rank, Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Antronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius and Servius the Sons of Sulla Ser-*

Præterea, ex equestri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinus Capito, C. Cornelius: Ad hoc, multi ex coloniis & municipiis domi nobiles. Erant præterea complures paullo occultius consilii hujusce participes nobiles; quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. Cæterum, juvenus pleraque, sed maxime nobilium, Catilinæ incœptis favebat. Quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem, malebant. Fuisse item ea tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse: Quia Cneius Pompejus, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ducitabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere: Simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore. Sed antea item conjurare pauci, in quibus Catilina. De quo, quam verissimum potero, dicam.

XVIII. L. Tullo, M. Lepido coss. P. Autronius & P. Sulla, designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati, pœnas dederant. Post paullo Catili-

vius, Lucius Varguntejus, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Læca, Lucius Bestia, Quintus Curius; and besides these, of Equestrian rank, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinus Capito, Caius Cornelius; and over and above this company, many from the colonies and borough-towns, nobly descended there. There were likewise a good many noblemen, who under-hand countenanced the design, whom the hopes of power, more than want, or any other necessity, engaged therein. But most of the youth, especially amongst the nobility, favoured Catiline's undertaking; who might have lived in great quiet, splendidly and pleasantly: But they chose rather uncertainties for things certain, and war rather than peace. There were some too at that time, who did really believe, that Mark Crassus was not unacquainted with the design; because Cn. Pompey, whom he mortally hated, commanded a great army, to reduce whose power, he was ready to raise any one whatever; but hoped too, if the conspiracy succeeded, to have the chief sway. But before this time, some few gentlemen had entered into a conspiracy against the state, of which Catiline was one, concerning which I shall here give as true an account as I can.

XVIII. In the Consulship of Lucius Tullus and Mark Lepidus, Publius Autronius and Publius Sulla Consuls elect, had been prosecuted for bribery, and punished. Some little time after, Catiline

na,

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 21

na, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat petere consulatum; quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus; quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina & Autronius, circiter Nonas Decembr. consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januar. L. Cottam & L. Torquatum conf. interficere; ipsi, facibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februar. consilium cædis transtulerunt. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plebisque senatoribus, perniciem machinabantur. Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare; eo die, post conditam urbem Romam, pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati conveniant; ea res consilium diremit.

XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quæstor pro prætore missus est, adnitente Crasso; quod eum infestum Cn. Pompejo cognoverat.

*being likewise prosecuted for extortion, was not allowed to stand candidate for the Consulship, because he could not enter his name for that purpose, within the time limited by law. There was at that time Cn. Piso, a noble youth of great boldness, poverty, and a factious spirit: Whom vice and want together excited to disturb the government. With him Catiline and Autronius entering into a cabal about the nones of December, came to a resolution of assassinating, the first of January following, the Consuls Luke Cottam, and Luke Torquatus; whereupon they were to seize the Consulship, and send Piso with an army to be governour of the two Spains. But the plot being discovered, they deferred the intended murder to the nones of February. And now they proposed not only to take off the Consuls, but most of the Senators too. And had not Catiline been too hasty in giving the signal for that purpose before the Senate-house, that day would have been executed the horriest villany, that had ever been perpetrated from the building of Rome, to that time. But as there was no great appearance of the conspirators, that prevented the execution of their design.*

XIX. Afterwards Piso was sent Quæstor, but with the authority of Prætor, into Spain, by the interest of Crassus, because he knew him to be a bitter enemy of Cn. Pompey, the Senate not

Neque



Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat. Quippe sc̄dum hominem a republica procul abesse volebat. Simul, quia boni complures pr̄fidium in eo putabant, & jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeji formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, in provinciam, ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ducabat, iter faciens, occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicant, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati. Alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeji veteres fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem aggressos: Numquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse: sed imperia sæva multa antea perpeffos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquimus. De superiori conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina, ubi eos, quos paullo ante memoravi, convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa sæpe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos appellare & cohortari, in abditam partem ædium secessit, atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit. *Ni virtus fidesque vestra satis spectata mihi foret; nequicquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, domi-*

*being averse to the thing, in order to get rid of so troublesome a fellow, as also because a great many honest men thought good use might be made of him, in opposition to the power of Pompey, which was now become formidable. But Piso was, in his march for Spain, assassinated by some Spanish horse he had in his army. The reason whereof, some say, was his unjust, haughty, cruel behaviour in his command, which the Barbarians were not able to endure. But others will have it, that those horse were some old trusty clients of Cn. Pompey's, and took off Piso by his encouragement. For the Spaniards had never been guilty of any thing like that before, but had bore the cruelty of several other governors with patience. We shall leave the matter undetermined. And so much for that conspiracy.*

XX. *When Catiline saw his company above-mentioned assembled, tho' he had before had much conference with them singly and separately, yet judging it proper to speak to them all together, and encourage them to the work, he retired with them into a private part of his house, where he address'd them in the following harangue. If your virtue and honour were not sufficiently known to me, a most lucky opportunity for our intended project would have presented itself in vain; vast hopes and dominion would have*

*natio*

# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 23

*natio in manibus frustra fuissent: Neque per ignaviam aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed, quia multis & magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis fidesque mihi, eo animus ausus est maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere, simul, quia vobis eadem, quæ mihi, bona malaque esse intellexi. Nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed, ego quæ mente agitavi, omnes jam antea divisi audistis. Cæterum mihi indies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quæ conditio vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmetipsos vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam respublica in paucorum potentiam jus atque ditionem concessit; semper illis reges, tetrarchæ vestigiales esse; populi, nationes stipendia pendere; cæteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, si respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt: Nobis reliquerunt pericula, repulsa, judicia, egestatem. Quæ quousque tandem*

dropped into our hands to no purpose. Nor would I for certainties pursue uncertainties, by the help of sorry fellows not to be depended on. But as I have, upon many important occasions, found you gallant and faithful to me, I have thereby been encouraged to engage in the greatest and most glorious undertaking that ever was, and the rather, because I am sensible our interests are the very same. For a union of interest is the only lasting bond of friendship. But you have already each of you heard apart what it is I propose to go upon. And I am daily more heartily disposed thereto, when I consider what sort of life we must lead, if we do not endeavour the recovery of our liberty. For since all power and authority has been engrossed by a few great men, Kings and Tetrarchs have been tributary to them; to them only have the several nations and provinces of the Empire paid taxes. The rest of us, however brave and honest, whether noble or ignoble, have been treated as mob only, without interest or authority, in a slavish subjection to those, to whom we should be a terrour, if the government was upon a right foot. Now all interest, power, honour, and riches, are with them, or where they please. They have left us nothing but dangers, dishonour, impeachments, and want. And how long, my most gallant friends, will you take all this at their hands? Is it not better to die bravely, than to lose a miserable dishonourable life in a  
*patri-*

*patiemini, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem præstat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ superbicæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere?*

XXI. *Verum enimvero, Proh deum atque hominum fidem! victoria in manu nobis est; Viget ætas, animus valet. Contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantummodo incepto opus est: Cætera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extruendo mari et montibus coæquandis; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? Illos binas, aut amplius, domos continuare; nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia ædificant: Postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant; Tamen summa lubricine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris æs alienum; mala res, spes multo asperior. Denique, quid reliqui habemus, præter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa, quam sæpe optastis, libertas; præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria in oculis*

disgraceful manner, after you have been exposed to the insults of their haughty disdain?

XXI. But, O Gods! Victory is in our hands; we are in the prime of our strength, our minds in full vigour: They upon the decline both from age and luxury. We need but begin, the project will execute itself. For what mortal, that has the spirit of a man in him, can endure with patience, that they should so wallow in riches, as to waste them in straitening the very seas by their large and stately buildings, and in the levelling of mountains, whilst we are in want of necessaries: That they should have two houses or more, and we none at all? They, tho' they are ever purchasing fine pictures, statues, and vessels of fine workmanship, are ever pulling down even new houses, and building them up again: In short, tho' they contrive all the ways and means imaginable, to waste and consume their money, yet with all their extravagance they can see no-end of their riches: Whilst we have nothing but want at home, and debt abroad, our condition bad, and our expectations worse. Finally, what have we left, but a wretched life? Rouze then, Gentlemen. See now the liberty you have so often wished for; riches moreover, honour and glory, are all in view. Fortune offers all these rewards to the conquerors. Let the case itself, the juncture, your danger,



## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 25

*lis sita sunt. Fortuna ea omnia victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis, quam oratio mea, vos hortentur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utimini. Neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam: nisi forte me animus fallit, & vos servire magis, quam imperare, parati estis.*

XXII. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla; tamen illis, quæ movere, magna merces videbatur; tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret, quæ conditio belli foret, quæ armis præmia peterent; quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem, locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum atque libido victorum fert. Præterea, esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritania cum exercitu P. Sittum Nucerinum, consilii sui participes. Petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem & familiarem & omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum. Cum eo consulem se initium

want, and the noble spoils of a war work upon you, more than my speech. You shall have me either for your leader, or your fellow-soldier. Neither my body nor mind shall ever forsake you. The things I am now speaking to you about, I hope to act in possession of the Consular dignity conjointly with you, unless my guests fail me, and you prefer slavery before power and dominion.

XXII. *The company, upon hearing this speech, tho' they were all wretched to the last degree, and without the least hope of any amendment of their condition; and tho' they were inclinable too to think they might possibly find their own account in a public confusion; yet most of them desired to know, upon what terms they were to engage in this war, or what advantage they were to reap by it; what strength they had, or what hopes of success. Then Catiline promised them a cancelling of all past debts, a proscription of the rich, places in the magistracy, or the priesthood, free plunder, and all things else that war, and the licence of conquest, are apt to produce. Besides, he told them, there was Piso in hither Spain, and Publius Sittius Nucerinus in Mauritania, with an army, who were both embarked with him in the design. That C. Antonius was candidate for the Consulship, whom he hoped to have for his colleague, a man that was his intimate friend, and engaged in all*  
agendi

*agendi facturum.* Ad hoc, maledictis increpabat omnis bonos; suorum unumquemque nominans, laudare, admonere alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt; cohortatus ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXIII. Fuere ea tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habitam, cum ad iurandum populares sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse; inde, cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum: atque eo dictitare fecisse, quo inter se magis fidi forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta & haec & multa praeterea existimabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

possible ties and obligations to him; that he would enter upon the affair in conjunction with him. To this he added a great deal of bitter reflection upon all the honest party, and then naming his own single each, one he highly commended, another he put in mind of his poverty, another of something he longed for, most of them of their danger or shame, and many of their success under Sulla, whereby they had been enriched. And perceiving them all to be much elevated, he advised them to take care of his interest in the ensuing election, and then broke up the assembly.

XXIII. There were at that time some who said that Catiline, after the making of this speech of his, administered an oath to his fellow-conspirators, and obliged them to drink a mixture of wine and man's blood, handed about in bowls; which when they had done, in imitation of the custom of drinking wine round in solemn sacrifices, he more fully disclosed to them his intentions, and told them, he had made use of that ceremony, to engage them the more effectually to a faithful unanimous execution of so noble a design. But some believed all this, and much more of the like kind, was meer fiction, proceeding from such as thought the odium, which Cicero afterwards fell under, might be abated by the horrid wickedness of those that were punished by him. For my part, I must own I have not met with any sufficient evidence for so heinous a charge.

XXIV.

# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 27

XXIV. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus; quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat, quam audacia. Neque reticere quæ audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare; prorsus neque dicere, neque facere, quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo. Cui cum minus gratus esset, quod inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians, *maria montisque polliceri; minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret.* Postremo, ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curii causa cognita, tale periculum reipublicae haud occultum habuit; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione, quæ quo modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia æstuabat, & quasi pollui consulatum credebatur, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus torret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

XXIV. Now in this conspiracy was engaged Q. Curius, descended of no mean family, but a vile profligate wretch, whom the Censors, for his scandalous life, had struck out of the list of the Senators. This man had an equal share of vanity and impudence; was neither able to contain a secret, nor even to conceal his own wicked pranks; in short, he neither regarded what he said, or what he did. He had an old intrigue with one Fulvia, a lady of noble birth; but declining in favour with her, by reason of his poverty, which disabled him for making the presents she expected from him, he begun all on a sudden to bounce, and promise her golden mountains, and sometimes threatened to stab her, if she would not comply with his inclinations; and in short, behaved in a much more sawey, haughty manner, than he had ever been used to do before. Fulvia, when she came to understand the occasion of all this insolence, made no secret of the danger the state was in, but told to several all she had heard relating to Catiline's conspiracy, yet without naming her author. This discovery made the people in general zealous for chusing M. Tully Cicero Consul. For before this, almost all the nobility used to fret with envy, and look upon the Consular dignity as defiled, when any person of low birth, how excellently qualified soever he was, happened to procure the same. But now, upon the appearance of this danger, envy and pride vanished at once.



XXV. Igitur, comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius & C. Antonius. Quod factum primo populares conjunctionis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur; sed indies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam, sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuatam, Fæsulæ ad Manlium quemdam portare; qui postea princeps fuit belli faciendi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primo ingentis sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant; post, ubi ætas tantummodo quæstui, neque luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebatur posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi vel interficere.

XXVI. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit: Literis Græcis & Latinis docta; psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ; multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt.

XXV. Accordingly at the ensuing election, M. Tully and C. Antonius were declared Consuls, which at first gave a great shock to the conspirators. However, the madness of Catiline did not abate upon it at all. He was every day more and more taken up with fresh projects; he lodged arms in the most convenient places for his design, up and down Italy; took up money upon his own credit, or that of his friends, and sent it to Fæsulæ to Manlius, who was afterwards the first that appeared in arms for the cause. He is said at the same time to have drawn in great numbers of all ranks, and some women, who in the prime of their years had supported their extravagance by prostitution; but when age put an end to that trade, tho' not to their luxury, had run themselves into a great deal of debt. Catiline expected by their means to engage the city slaves for him, to fire the town, and either draw over their husbands to join him, or murder them.

XXVI. Amongst these was Sempronia, who had in her time, with a boldness very uncommon with the sex, play'd a great many mad pranks. This woman was happy in her extraction and person, as likewise a husband and children; a great mistress of the Greek and Latin tongue; would play upon an instrument, and dance more finely than any honest woman needs to do; and in several  
Sed

Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit. Pecunjae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres. Lubidine sic accensa, ut saepius peteret viros, quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praecipuus abierat. Verum, ingenium ejus haud absurdum. Posse versus facere; jocus movere; sermone uti, vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaciori. Prorsus multae facetiae, multusque lepos inerat.

*and equally fitted for modest or wanton conversation. In short, she was an exceeding pleasant witty woman.*

XXVII. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilominus in proximum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant. Namque a principio consulatus sui, multa per Fulviam pollicendo effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam solum Antonium factione provinciae perpulerat, ne contra rempublicam sentiret:

*other articles of luxury she was very nice and dextrous. But for decency and chastity, those were the least of her care. It was hard to say, whether she was more lavish of her money, or her reputation. She was a woman of that furious lust, that she more frequently made advances to the men, than they to her. She had frequently, contrary to her promise given, revealed secrets, abjured what had been left in trust with her, had been guilty of murder, and, at the instigation of luxury and poverty together, had run headlong into all manner of wickedness. But she was a woman of parts, could write verses, was very facetious,*

*and equally fitted for modest or wanton conversation. In short, she was an exceeding pleasant witty woman.*  
XXVII. But notwithstanding these preparations for the execution of his project, Catiline declared himself a candidate for the Consulship against the next year; in hopes, if he should be chosen, of making Anthony his tool. In the mean time he was not idle, but used his utmost endeavours to take off Cicero, who wanted not cunning and dexterity on his part to countermine all his contrivances. For, as soon as he entered upon the office of Consul, by large promises to Fulvia, he prevailed with Quintus Curius, whom I have mentioned a little above, to discover to him all the designs of Catiline. And further, by the assurance of a province, he engaged Anthony not to act against the government; and had privately guards of friends and clients about him.

circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, & Catilinæ neque petitio, neque infidiæ, quas consuli fecerat, prospere cessere; constituit bellum facere. & extrema omnia experiri; quoniam, quæ occulte tentaverat, aspera foedaque evenerant.

XXVIII. Igitur C. Manlium Fæstulas, atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quemdam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; præterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebatur. Interea Romæ multa simul moliris. Consuli infidias tendere. Parrare incendia. Opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere. Ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere, hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent. Dies noctisque festinare. Vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo, ubi multa agitant, nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læccam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet se præmisisse Manlium ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat; item alios in alia

*When the day of election came, and Catiline found that neither his suit for the Consulship, nor his plot for assassinating the Consuls in the field of Mars, succeeded, he resolved upon open war, and to try the utmost extremity; since all his underhand contrivances had miserably miscarried.*

XXVIII. Accordingly he dispatched away C. Manlius to Fæstulæ, to take care of his concerns there, and in the neighbouring parts of Etruria; one Septimius Camers into the territory of Picene; and C. Julius into Apulia. Others likewise he sent off, one one way, and another another, where he thought they might be most subservient to his design. In the mean time he was carrying on several projects, one to murder the Consul; another to fire the city; another to secure proper places with an armed force. He had always a sword about him, and ordered the rest to be provided after the same manner; and desired them to be always ready, and prepared for action. He was day and night in a hurry, got little sleep, and yet was not fatigued with the want of it, or all the pains he underwent. Finally, when all his endeavours proved abortive, he again summons the principal of the conspirators, by M. Porcius Læcca, to repair to his house in the dead time of the night; and there complaining heavily of their want of spirit and activity, he informs

loca



# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 31

*loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: Eum suis consiliis multum officere.*

take off Cicero first; for that he very much obstructed his designs.

XXIX. Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus cæteris, C. Cornelius eques Rom. operam suam pollicitus, & cum eo L. Varguntejus senator, constituere ea nocte paulo post, cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem, & de improvviso domi suæ imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi intelligit, quantum periculum consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum, qui parabatur, enunciat. Ita illi janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriæ novarum rerum cupidam; quod Sulæ dominatione agros, bonaque omnia amiserat; præterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum ea in regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

whom lewdness and luxury had left nothing of all the great spoil they had made under him.

*them, that he had sent Manlius before him to the people he had prepared to take up arms, and had likewise dispatched away others into proper places to begin the war: And that he himself was desirous to go to the army, but wanted to*

XXIX. *All the rest being dispirited, and not at all forward to engage in such an affair, C. Cornelius, a Roman Knight, offered his service, and together with him, Lucius Varguntejus, a Senator. They proposed to go that very night with armed men to Cicero's house, and enter it, under pretence of paying their respects; and then to fall unexpectedly upon him and stab him, unprovided for a defence. Curius, upon finding how great a danger the Consul was in, immediately dispatches away Fulvia to him, to give him notice of the design. Whereupon the assassins were denied admittance, and that plot was blasted. In the mean time, Manlius in Etruria solicits the common people to rise, who were ripe for a rebellion, instigated by their poverty, and resentment of the injustice that had been done them, having been stripped of their lands and goods under the tyranny of Sulla. He likewise encouraged robbers of all kinds to come in to him, of which there was great plenty in that country. Some likewise he picked up from amongst the old soldiers of Sulla, whom he had settled in the possession of lands in that country, to*

XXX

XXX. Ea cum Cicero nunciarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab infidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitatum. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, *darent operam consules, nequid res publica detrimenti caperet.* Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parere, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis; domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere. Aliter, sine populi iussu, nulli eorum rerum consuli, jus est.

XXXI. Post paucos dies L. Senius senator in senatu literas recitavit, quas Fæsulis allatas sibi dicebat a Q. Fabio; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine ante diem VI. Kal. Nov. simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant: alii, conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuæ atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri.

XXX. Upon advice of this, Cicero being moved with a sense of the double danger that threatened the Common-wealth, because it was neither possible for him, by his own single endeavours, any longer to secure effectually the city against the plot; nor had he any certain account of the number of Manlius's army, or how he designed to proceed; he lays the matter before the senate, which was already become the common talk of the town. Upon this, according to ancient custom in a time of great danger, the Senate pass'd a vote, That the Consuls should take care, and provide for the security of the state. Now by such a vote as this, the Consuls become invested with a very extraordinary authority of raising troops, levying war, and exercising a sort of despotick power, as well over the Romans, as their allies, both at home and abroad. Otherwise, without the people's order, a Consul has no authority for any of these things.

XXXI. A few days after this, Lucius Senius a Senator read a letter in the house, which he said was brought him from Fæsulæ by Quintus Fabius, giving an account, that C. Manlius had taken up arms, with a vast number of people, upon the sixth of the calends of November. At the same time, as it usually happens in such cases, some brought news of strange omens and prodigies, others of unusual assemblies, and the hurrying of arms from place to place; and that the slaves were up at Capua

Igitur

Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Fæfulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam, circumque ea loca missi. Hi utrique ad urbem imperatores erant; impediti, ne triumpharent calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed prætores Q. Pompejus Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; hisque permissum, uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. Ad hoc, si quis indicasset de conjuratione, quæ contra rempublicam facta erat, præmium, servo libertatem & sestertia centum; libero impunitatem ejus rei & sestertia cc. Itemque decrevere, uti familiæ gladiatoria Capuam & in cætera municipia distribuerentur pro cujusque opibus; Romæ per totam urbem vigiliæ haberentur, eisque minores magistratus præessent.

XXXII. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata facies urbis erat: ex summa lætitia atque lascivia, quæ diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit. Festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque

and in Apulia. Wherefore, by order of the Senate, Q. Marcius Rex was dispatched away to Fæfulæ, Q. Metellus Creticus into Apulia, and the places thereabout. These two gentlemen were at that time in the command of armies, attending nigh the city, in expectation of the honour of a triumph; but were baulk'd by the spiteful endeavours of some, whose custom was to do any thing, right or wrong, for money, and nothing without. The Prætors too, Q. Pompeius Rufus was sent to Capua, and Q. Metellus Celer into the territory of Picene, with commissions to levy troops as the exigency of the times and the danger might require. Besides the Senate voted a reward of his freedom, and a hundred thousand sesterces, to any slave; and a pardon, with two hundred thousand sesterces, to any freed-man, that would make any discovery relating to the conspiracy then on foot against the government. They likewise ordered, That gladiators should be dispersed in Capua, and other borough-towns, in numbers proportioned to the abilities of each town for the support of them, and that constant guards should be kept up and down Rome, commanded by the inferiour magistrates.

XXXII. By all these things the city was put into a mighty consternation, and the appearance thereof very much changed; and from a state of jollity and wantonness, which a long quiet had produced, a dismal concern spread through the whole town. There was nothing but hurry and fright

E

homi-



homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere neque pacem habere. Suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc, mulieres, quibus pro reipublicæ magnitudine belli timor insolitus inceslerat, afflictere sese; manus supplices ad cœlum tendere; miserari parvos liberos; rogitare; omnia pavere; superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi præsidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo, dissimulandi causa, et quasi sui expurgandi, sicuti iurgio laceratus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sine præsentiam ejus timens, sine ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed ubi ille adfedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplici, postulare a patribus, ne quid de se temere crederent: Ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet. Ne existimarent, sibi patrico homini, cujus ipsius atque majorum pluri-

every where. No one thought any place, or any company sufficiently secure. They had neither war nor peace, and every one measured the danger by his own fears. Now the women, full of the apprehensions of war, which, by reason of the grandeur of the Roman state, they had not been before used to, bemoaned their case most dismally, lift up their hands in prayer to heaven, bewailed their little children, were full of enquiry after news, afraid of every thing, and dropping their pride, niceness, and finery, all at once, gave up themselves and their country for gone. But the cruel soul of Catiline still pursued the same wild projects, notwithstanding all the precautions that were taken against him; and tho' he himself was impeached upon the Plautian law by Luctus Paulus. At last he made his appearance in the senate-house, in order to cloak his villany, and under pretence of clearing himself, as if he had been wrongfully defamed. Then M. Tully the Consul, whether apprehensive of ill consequences from his appearance there, or fired with resentment, made a very fine speech, very suitable to the occasion; which he afterwards put in writing, and published. But after he sat down, Catiline, as he was a finished master in the art of dissimulation, with a dejected look, and humble tone, begun to beg of the house, not rashly to believe what was said of him; that his family was such, and he had from his youth led his life in such a manner, that he had

# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 35

*ma beneficia in plebem R. essent, perdita republi- ca opus esse; cum eam servaret M. Tullius, in- quilinus civis urbis Ro- mæ. Ad hoc, maledicta alia cum adderat; obstre- pere omnes; hostem at- que parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: Quoniam quidem circum- ventus, inquit, ab inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruina extinguam.*

reason to expect every thing he could wish for. *He requested of them, they would not believe, that he a nobleman, who had himself, as well as his ancestors, done many services for the people of Rome, should have any occasion to seek the destruction of the common- wealth, whilst M. Tully, who was but a tenant in town, stood up for its preservation. As he proceed- ed in his reflections upon the Consul, there was a general outcry raised against him by the house, as an enemy to his country, and a parricide. Upon which he, in a mighty rage, said, Since I find myself circumvented, and pushed upon extremities by my enemies, I will put out the fire of your houses, with the utter demolition of them.*

XXXIII. Dein se ex- curia demum proripuit. Ibi multa secum ipse vol- vens, quod neque insidiæ consuli procedebant, & ab incendio intelligebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere, ac prius, quam legiones scri- berentur, multa anteca- pere quæ bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Ce- thego atque Lentulo, cæ- terisque, quorum cogno- verat promptam audaci- am, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis con- firment, insidias consuli maturent; cædem, in- cendia, aliaque belli fa- cinora parent, Sese pro- pediem cum magno exer- citu ad urbem accessurum.

XXXIII. *With that he got ha- stily out of the house, and went home; where considering with himself, that his designs upon the Consul came to nothing, and that the city was secured against his in- tention of burning it, by watch and ward constantly kept; he thought his best course would be to increase his army, and to make his advan- tage by seizing of proper places for his purpose, before the legions de- signed to oppose him were raised. Accordingly about midnight he went off, with a few attendants, for Manlius's camp. But recom- mended to Cethegus and Lentulus, and others, whose zeal and bold- ness he was assured of, by all pos- sible means to strengthen their par- ty, to get rid of Cicero as soon as possible, and prepare for a massa- cre, firing of the town, and other acts of war: That he would im- mediately come to the city with a great army.*

XXXIV. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Q. Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujuscemodi: *Deos hominesque testamur, Imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui miseri, egen-tes, violentia atque crudelitate scæneratorum, ple-rique patria, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus. Neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum, lege uti; neque, amisso patrimonio, corpus liberum habere; tanta scævitia scæneratorum atque prætoris fuit. Sæpe majores nostri, miseriti plebis R. decretis suis inopiæ ejus opitulati sunt. Ac novissime, memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus hominibus, argentum ære solutum est. Sæpe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratuum armata, a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus; quarum rerum causa, bella atque certamina inter mortales sunt; sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus, nisi cum anima simul, amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis mi-*

XXXIV. *Whilst these things are doing at Rome, C. Manlius sent some of his lieutenant-generals to Q. Marcus Rex, with a message to this effect. We call Gods and men to witness, noble General, that we have not taken up arms either against our country, or to bring others in danger, but only to defend our own persons from ill usage, who being reduced to a state of misery and want, by the violence and cruelty of our creditors, are most of us banished our country, but all of us stripped entirely of our credit and fortunes. Nor could any of us have the usual benefit of the law for our protection, or enjoy the liberty of our persons, after the loss of our estates; such was the cruelty of our creditors, and the Prætor together. Our fore-elders frequently took pity of the commons of Rome, and by their decrees relieved their want. And lately in our own times, by reason of the great debt that multitudes were involved in, by the vote of every honest man, brass was made to pass in payment for silver, weight for weight. The Commons have frequently in their struggles for a share of power and authority in the government, or upon provocation from the pride of the magistrates, come to an open breach with the Senate. But we neither desire power, nor riches; for the sake of which all the wars and contentions, that happen amongst mankind, are raised. 'Tis liberty only that we request, which no brave man is willing to lose, but with his life. We therefore beg*



# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 37

*seris civibus; legis præsidium, quod iniquitas prætoris eripuit; restituitis; neve nobis eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quæramus, quonam modo, maxime ulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus.*

XXXV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius respondit: *Si quid ab senatu petere vellet, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiantur. Ea misericordia atque mansuetudine senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit. At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, præterea optimo cuique literas mittit: Se, falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci: Non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur. Ab his longe diversas literas Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit; quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat. Earum exemplum infra scriptum est.*

XXXVI. L. Catilina  
Q. Catulo S. Egregia tua

of you and the Senate, to take the care of us your fellow-citizens under consideration, and restore us the protection of the law, which the iniquity of the Prætor took from us; and that you would not lay us under a necessity of considering how we may sell our lives at the dearest rate.

XXXV. *To this Q. Marcius made answer, If they had any thing to request of the Senate, they ought to lay down their arms, and apply with all due submission to Rome. That the Senate and people of Rome had always shewn themselves of so mild and merciful a disposition, that no one ever apply'd to them for their assistance in vain. But Catiline in his journey, sent letters to most of the Consular gentlemen in Rome, especially those of the best character amongst them, signifying, That whereas he had been on all hands persecuted with charges of a heinous nature, utterly false, and found it impossible to stand against the faction of his enemies, he submitted to his fate, and was going to Marseilles, to spend his days in banishment there; not that he was conscious to himself of the villany he was charged with, but in regard solely to the quiet of his country, and to prevent the disturbance his contesting with his enemies might occasion. But Q. Catulus read in the Senate-house, a letter quite different from all these, which, he said, was delivered him as from Catiline; a copy of which follows.*

XXXVI. L. Catiline to Q. Catulus, greeting. Your extraordinary

*fides,*

*fides, re cognita, grata mihi, magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi meæ tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in consilio novo non statui parare: satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi: Quæ medius fidius licet vera mecum cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod, fructu laboris industriæque meæ privatus, statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserrorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi. Non quin æs alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, cum & alienis nominibus liberalitas Aureliæ Orestillæ suis filiaque copiis persolveret. Sed, quod non dignos, homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsa suspitione alienatum esse sentiebam; hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquæ dignitatis conservandæ sum secutus. Plura cum scribere vellem, nunciatum est mihi vim parari. Nunc Orestillam tibi commendo, tuæque fidei tra- do. Eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto.*

nary honour, known to me by experience, and for which I am obliged to you, give me the assurance of recommending my cause to you, in my present distress. And in dependance upon your undertaking it, I would not stand upon my defence in the uncommon measures taken against me, but for the present contented myself, with the satisfaction arising from a consciousness of my innocence, which I do aver upon my honour to be real. Provoked by injuries and indignities, in being robbed of the fruits of my labour and industry, and not suffered to keep the honourable station that belonged to me, I publicly undertook the cause of poor oppressed people, agreeably to my former way of life. Not but that I could have satisfied my own creditors out of my own estate, whilst the generosity of Orestilla would have done the same for others my friends, out of her own and her daughter's estate. But finding worthless men advanced to places of trust and power in the government, and myself set aside upon a groundless suspicion, I have, I think, considering my circumstances, pursued means honourable enough for the preservation of the remainder of dignity left me. I should have said more to you, but word is just brought me, that we are going to be attack'd. I recommend to your protection Orestilla. Suffer her not to be ill used, I beg of you, as you wish well to your own children. Farewel.

# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 39

XXXVII. Sed ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium in agro Reatino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam & Manlium hostis iudicat; cæteræ multitudi-  
*diem statuit, ante quam liceret sine fraude ab armis discedere, præter rerum capitalium condemnatis.* Præterea decernit, uti consules delectum habeant; C. Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi præsidio sit. Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi, R. multo maxime miserabile visum est; cui cum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiæ, quæ prima mortales putant, affluerent; fuere tamen cives qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque, duobus senati decretis, ex tanta multitudine, neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat. Tanta vis morbi, atque uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. *He stay'd a few days with C. Flaminius, in the territory of Reate, 'till he could provide the neighbourhood, which had been engaged in the cause before, with arms, and then marched with the Fasces, and other ensigns of command, to Manlius's camp. When the news of this was carried to Rome, the Senate voted Catiline and Manlius enemies, and fix'd a day for the troops under their command, with- in which, if they laid down their arms, they were assured of a pardon, except such as had been condemned for capital crimes. They likewise ordered the Consuls to levy an army, which C. Antonius was to lead with all expedition against Catiline, whilst Cicero was to provide for the security of the city. The Roman state at that time seem'd to me to be in a most piteous condition; when, tho' all nations from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same, were reduced to their obedience, and there was at home a profound peace, and a prodigious affluence of riches, which men are apt to prefer before every thing else; yet was there a sort of people, and Romans too, who were obstinately bent upon their own ruin, with that of the commonwealth. For, notwithstanding the two votes above-mentioned, there was not one of so great a number concerned in the plot, that was prevailed upon by the reward offered, to make the least discovery, nor one deserted Catiline's camp. So strangely were their minds infected with a disposition to rebellion and mischief.*

XXXVIII.



XXXVIII. Neque solum illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis fuerant; sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinæ incepta probabat. Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes ea vero præceps ierat multis de causis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime præstabant; item alii, per dedecora, patrimonii amissis; postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, hi Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant. Dein multi, memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant; alios ita divites, ut regio victu atque cultu ætatem agerent; sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria talia sperabat. Præterea juvenus, quæ in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urba-

XXXVIII. Nor was this the case only of those that were concerned in the conspiracy; but the whole body of the common people were desirous of a revolution in the government, and approved of Catiline's design. And herein they seemed to act only according to their usual temper and disposition. For, in all governments, the poorer sort are apt to envy the good, and extol the bad; hate a constitution they have been used to, and wish for a new one; and from a dissatisfaction with their own circumstances, endeavour to have all things turn'd upside-down; because in a time of publick disorder and confusion, they find an easy subsistence, as having, by reason of their poverty, nothing to lose. But the commonalty of Rome, especially at this time, were from several causes grown extremely corrupt. In the first place, the most profligate wretches every where, and such as had wasted their estates by scandalous extravagance; finally, all whose villanies had forced them from their native country, flock'd to Rome, as a common sewer for the reception of all manner of filth. And then again, many reflecting upon Sulla's success, and how they had seen many raised from the degree of common soldiers to the dignity of Senators, and many so enriched, as to live like Kings all their lives after, every man, in case of a war, hoped for the like, from the success of his party. Besides, the young fellows that lived in the country by their labour, tempted to town by the

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 41

num otium ingrato labori prætulera. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum est, homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma spe, reipublicæ juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Præterea quorum, victoria Sullæ, parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc, quicunque aliarum atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quam minus valere ipsi, malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

XXXIX. Nam postquam Cn. Pompejo & M. Crasso COSS. tribunitia potestas restituta est, homines adolescentes, summam potestatem nacti, quibus ætas animusque ferox erat, cœpere, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senati sub specie, pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis verum absolvam, per illa

private and publick largesses there stirring, preferred an idle life there to hard working in the country. These, and the rest I mentioned, were subsisted by the troubles of the common-wealth; and therefore it is not to be wondered, that a pack of scrubby rascally fellows, with such a view before them, should just be as much concerned for the good of the publick, as they had been for their own before. Besides too, all those whose parents had been proscribed under the tyranny of Sulla, who had had their estates confiscated, or been disfranchised, had much the like expectations from a war, as the others had. And moreover, they who were of the party opposite to the Senate, chose rather to have the State involved in confusion, than not carry their point; a humour which had for many years laid dormant, but was now started up in the city again.

XXXIX. For after the revival of the Tribunitian authority in the Consulship of Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus, raw young gentlemen of great spirits, getting into possession of that high dignity, began by railing at the Senate, to incense the commonalty against them; and then by throwing away their money upon them, and making mighty promises of what great things they would do for them, they inflamed them still the more, and were carried all before them. These were opposed by the greatest part of the nobility, under pretence of promoting the power of the Senate, but in reality for their own. For, to

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tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii, ficti jura populi defenderent, pars, quo senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantibus, pro sua quisque potentia certabant; neque illis modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: Utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XL. Sed, postquam Cn. Pompejus ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes imminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere: Ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu ætatem agere, cæterosque judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent. Sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum arxit. Quod si primo prælio Catilina superior, aut æqua manu discessisset; profecto magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset: Neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset; quin defessis & exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret.

*say the truth at once, all the disturbers of the publick at that time, under plausible pretences, some of asserting the rights and privileges of the people, others of advancing the authority of the Senate, pretending all to have nothing so much at heart as the publick good, did in reality stickle every one only for their own power; and that without any regard to modesty or moderation at all. And both sides, as they happened to prevail, made a cruel use of their victory.*

XL. But when Cn. Pompey was sent to the war against the pirates and Mithridates, the power of the commons begun to decline, and that of a few to rise upon it. These engrossed the publick offices of state, the provinces and all things else; liv'd in great ease, grandeur and security, and kept the rest in constant apprehensions of prosecutions and impeachments, in order to render the commons more tame and submissive. But as soon as any hopes of a revolution presented, the commons took heart, and begun to play the old game over again. And if Catiline in the first battle had come off conqueror, or but with equal advantage, the publick would have been engaged in the most terrible circumstances of ruin and desolation; nor would those who got the victory, have long enjoyed it; but the most potent amongst them, would have forced from the rest, weary and lifeless with the dispute, all power, and their liberty withal. However there were several not concern'd in the conspiracy, who

Fuere



# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 43

Fuere tamen extra con-  
juratorem complures,  
qui ad Catilinam initio  
profecti sunt. In his erat A.  
Fulvius, senatoris filius;  
quem retractum ex itinere  
pater necari iussit. Iisdem  
temporibus Romæ  
Lentulus, sicuti Catilina  
præceperat, quoscunque  
moribus aut fortuna no-  
vis rebus idoneos crede-  
bat, aut per se aut per  
alios sollicitabat; neque  
solum cives, sed cujus-  
quemodi genus homi-  
num, quod modo usui  
bello foret.

XLI. Igitur P. Um-  
breno cuidam negotium  
dat, uti legatos Allobro-  
gum requirat; eosque, si  
possit, impellat ad socie-  
tatem belli; existumans  
publice privatimque ære  
alieno oppressos, præte-  
rea quod natura gens  
Gallica bellicosa esset, fa-  
cile ad tale consilium ad-  
duci posse. Umbrenus,  
quod in Gallia negotiatus  
erat, plerisque principibus  
civitatum notus erat, at-  
que eos noverat. Itaque  
sine mora, ubi primum  
legatos in foro conspexit,  
percunctatus pauca de  
statu civitatis, & quasi  
dolens ejus casum, requi-  
rere cœpit, quem exitum  
tantis malis sperarent.  
Postquam illos vidit queri  
de avaritia magistratu-  
um accusare senatum,

*at first went over to Catiline, a-  
mongst them A. Fulvius a Senator's  
son; who was fetch'd back again,  
before he could reach the camp,  
and put to death, by the order of  
his father. At the same time Len-  
tulus at Rome, agreeably to the in-  
structions of Catiline, endeavour'd  
by himself or others to engage in  
the cause all such as he look'd upon  
to be dispos'd by their vices or ill  
circumstances for a rebellion, and  
not citizens only, but any kind of  
men whatever, if they could but be  
of any service in the war.*

XLI. Accordingly he employs  
one P. Umbrenus to seek out the  
ambassadors of the Allobroges, and  
perswade them, if possible, to join  
in the war; supposing that as the  
state of the Allobroges, as well as  
great numbers of private persons  
amongst them, were sadly encum-  
bered with debts, and as the whole  
nation of the Gauls was naturally  
warlike, they might easily be drawn  
into such a design. Umbrenus ha-  
ving followed the employment of a  
merchant in Gaul, was acquainted  
with most of the leading men there.  
Wherefore without more ado, as  
soon as he set sight on the ambassa-  
dors in the forum, he briefly en-  
quired how matters went at home  
with them. And as if he was  
concerned for their condition, he  
began to ask them, whether they  
had any hopes to see an end of their  
misfortunes? Upon their complain-  
ing of the greediness of the magi-  
stracy of Rome, and railing at the  
F 2 quod

*quod in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare: At ego, inquit, vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta mala ista effugiatis. Hæc ubi dixit; Allobroges, in spem maximam adducti, Umbrenum orare, uti sui miseretur. Nihil tam asperum, neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum Decimi Bruti perducit; quod foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consilii, propter Semproniam. Nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Præterea Gabinium accersit, quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo præsentem conjurationem aperit, nominat socios, præterea multos cujusque generis innoxios; quo legatis animus amplior esset: Dein eos pollicitos operam suam, domum dimittit.*

*XLII. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat æs alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ. At in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa præmia. Hæc illis volentibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ. Itaque Q.*

*Senate for giving them no relief; and saying that they expected death must be the only cure for their misery. But, says he, if you will act like men, I'll shew you a way how to get rid of all your misfortunes. The Allobroges hearing this from him, and thereupon conceiving mighty hopes, begged of Umbrenus to take pity of them. There was, they said, nothing so harsh or so difficult, they would not gladly do, to ease their state of such a vast load of debt. He carries them to the house of D. Brutus, because it was nigh the forum, and the family no ill-wishers to the design, through Sempronius. For Brutus was at that time absent from Rome. Umbrenus sends too for Gabinus, to give the greater weight to what he should say. After he came, he discovered the plot to them, names those that were concerned in it, and a great many more of all ranks that were not, to begot in the ambassadors a better liking of the business. Upon promising their assistance, Umbrenus dismissed them.*

*XLII. But the Allobroges were a long time in doubt what course to take. On one side were their debts, an inclination to war, and great advantage to be hoped for from a victory. But on the other, greater benefit to themselves, safe measures, certain rewards instead of uncertain hopes. After they had mused some time upon the matter, at last the fortune of Rome prevailed. Accordingly they discover*  
Fabio

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 45

Fabio Sangæ, cujus patrocínio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcipit, ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent; cæteros adeant, bene polliceantur; dentque operam, ut eos quam maxumè manifestos habeant.

XLIII. Iisdem fere temporibus, in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat. Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte, ac veluti per dementiam, cuncta simul agere. Nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris, quam periculi, effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer prætor, ex S. C. causa cognita, in vincula conjecerat; item in citeriore Gallia C. Muræna, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

XLIV. At Romæ Lentulus cum cæteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, uti videbatur, magnis copiis, constituerat, uti, cum Catilina in agrum Fæsulæ cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus

*the whole affair, as they had heard it, to Quintus Fabius Sanga, whose patronage the state of the Allobroges much used. Cicero understanding the matter from Sanga, orders the ambassadors to pretend a huge liking and zeal for the conspiracy, to get into the company of the rest of those concerned in it, promise their utmost assistance, and endeavour to have as plain and ample proof against them as possible.*

XLIII. *About the same time, there was great bustle in hither and further Gaul, as also in the country of Picene, the Bruttii, and Apulia. For those whom Catiline had dispatched thither, inconsiderately and madly acted all things at once; and by their night-assemblies, the carriage of arms up and down, and huge hurry, and hasty action, caused more of fright than danger. A great many of them the Prætor Q. Metellus Celer, as impowered by the authority of the Senate, tried, and clapt in chains; as likewise did C. Muræna in hither Gaul, who presided as deputy-governor over that province.*

XLIV. *But at Rome, Lentulus, with the other ringleaders of the conspiracy, having provided, as they thought, a sufficient force, resolved, that, as soon as Catiline was come with his army into the country of Fæsulæ, L. Bestia Tribune of the commons, should call the people together, and complain*  
plebis



plebis, concione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellicque gravissimum invidiam optimum consuli imponeret; eo signo, proxima nocte cætera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur. Statilius & Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem cæterosque, quibus infidiæ parabantur, fieret. Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eumque vi aggrediretur, alius autem alium. Sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentes interficerent; simul, cæde & incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: *Illos, dubitando & dies prelatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo, opus esse: Seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum.* Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat: Maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

of Cicero's proceedings, and lay the odium of so dangerous a war upon the best of Consuls; and that, upon this signal, the night following, the rest of the conspiracy should every one mind the proper business assigned them; which was as follows. Statilius and Gabinius, attended with a considerable body of men, were to fire the city, in twelve places the most convenient for their purpose, that in the confusion occasioned thereby, they might the more easily come at the Consuls, and others they designed to assassinate. Cethegus was to secure the entrance into Cicero's house, and fall upon him, whilst others were elsewhere employed in the like wicked designs. Then young gentlemen, the greatest part of which were of noble families, were to kill their fathers, and during the distraction of the town, from the massacre and the fire together, they were all to sally out, and march off to Catiline. In the midst of these preparations and resolves, Cethegus was continually complaining of the backwardness of the rest. That they by their hesitation and delay ruined a very hopeful cause; that in an enterprize of so much danger, there was, he said, more occasion for action than debate; and that, for his part, he was ready, if a few only would but stand by him, let the rest sleep if they would, to attack the Senate. Cethegus was naturally of a daring violent spirit, and thought the success of their cause depended upon pushing it with vigour.

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 47

XLV. Sed Allobroges, ex præcepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium cæteros conveniunt: ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Cæteri nihil suspicantes dant. Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem mittit, uti Allobroges, prius quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data atque accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio literas ad Catilinam dat; quarum exemplum infra scriptum est.

*Quis sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, & memineris, te virum esse. Consideres, quod tuæ rationes postulent. Auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis. Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat; cum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet. In urbe parata esse, quæ jusserit. Ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.*

XLV. But the Allobroges, according to Cicero's instructions, procured by Gabinius's means, a meeting with the rest of the Conspirators, at which they insisted upon an oath from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius and Cassius, under their hands and seals, to carry to their masters at home, pretending it would be otherwise impossible to engage them in an affair of so great importance; which the rest, having no suspicion of their design in it, readily granted. But Cassius assured them he would be in their country very speedily, and accordingly left the Town a little before the ambassadors. Lentulus sent along with them one T. Volturcius of Croton, that they might further ratify what had been agreed on, with Catiline himself, before they went home; and gave Volturcius a letter for Catiline, a copy of which follows.

You will understand who I am that write to you, by the bearer. Consider the calamitous circumstances you are in, and remember you are a man; and consider further too what your cause requires. Seek assistance from people of all conditions, even the meanest. He moreover instructed Volturcius to ask him, since he was declared an enemy by the Senate, what he meant by refusing to accept of the assistance of slaves. That all things in town were ready according to his order; and therefore that he should not delay to advance forthwith.

XLVI.

XLVI. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco & C. Pomtino prætoribus imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant. Rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur. Cætera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant. Homines militares, sine tumultu præfidiis collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occulte pontem obfidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt, simul utrimque clamor exortus est. Galli cito cognito consilio, sine mora prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus cæteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; dein, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomtinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat; postremo timidus ac vitæ diffidens, velut hostibus, sese prætoribus dedit.

XLVII. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere. Lætabatur intelligens, conjuratione patefacta, civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porro autem anxius erat, in

XLVI. Upon this, the night being fix'd for the departure of the ambassadors, Cicero being informed by them of all that had passed, orders the Prætors L. Valerius Flaccus, and C. Pomtinus, to go and lie in wait for the ambassadors at the Mulvian bridge, acquainting them at the same time with the whole affair, and leaving the management to their discretion. These gentlemen having been in the military service, according to their orders, without any bustle, plant themselves with an armed force nigh the bridge, and lie snug there 'till the arrival of Volturcius with the ambassadors; upon which a shout was set up on both sides. The Gauls quickly understanding the matter, immediately surrender themselves up to the Prætors. Volturcius at first calling upon his men to stand by him, drew his sword in his defence; but being deserted by the ambassadors, he begged hard of Pomtinus, with whom he had had an acquaintance, to spare his life, and then in great fright and despair, surrendered himself to the Prætors, as if they had been enemies.

XLVII. An account of this affair was immediately carried to the Consul, who was thereupon full of concern and joy all at once. He was glad to think, that by so full a discovery of the plot, the city was now delivered from the danger it had been in; and then again, as the persons concerned in the villany, were of the highest max-



## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 49

maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundæ reipublicæ fore credebat. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, itemque Cæparium Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Cæteri sine mora veniunt. Cæparius, paullo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod prætor erat, ipse manu tenens, in senatum perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magnaque frequentia ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit; Flaccum prætorem scrinium cum literis, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVIII. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de literis, postremo quid, aut qua de causa, consilii habuisset; primo fingere alia omnia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit, docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio & Cæpario socium ascitum: Nihil amplius scire, quam

rank and quality, he was in some doubt with himself how to proceed against them. The punishment of them might fall heavy upon himself he thought, and to let them pass unpunished would be ruinous to the publick. Wherefore, taking courage, he orders Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius and Gabinius to be summoned before him, as also Cæparius of Terracina, who was upon the point of going into Apulia, to raise the slaves there. The rest of them came immediately. Cæparius being gone from home a little before the summons came, and having some notice of the business, had slipped out of town. The Consul taking Lentulus by the hand, because he was Prætor, conducts him into the Senate-house; and orders the rest under a guard to repair to the temple of Concord. Thither he summons the Senate, and there being a full house upon the occasion, he introduces Volturcius with the ambassadors, and orders the Prætor Flaccus to bring in a box with the letters, which he had from the ambassadors.

XLVIII. Volturcius being questioned about his journey, and the letters, and what his design was, or upon what account he had undertaken the journey; at first made use of some idle pretences, without saying a word of the conspiracy. But being assured upon the publick faith of his pardon, if he would declare the truth, he made a full discovery of all; and told them that a few days before he had been drawn in by Gabinius and Cæpari-  
legatos:

*legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Ser. Sullam, L. Varguntejum, multos præterea in ea conjuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur. At Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, præter literas, sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat, ex libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romæ tribus Corneliis portendi. Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; præterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore. Igitur, perlectis literis, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti, abdicato magistratu, Lentulus itemque cæteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Cæsari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Cæparius (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.*

XLIX. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quæ primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello sa-

*us to join in the conspiracy; that he knew no more than the ambassadors; he only used to hear of Gabinius, that P. Autronius, Ser. Sella, and L. Varguntejus, with many others, were concerned in the Plot. The Gauls confirmed what he said; and charged Lentulus, who pretended to know nothing of the matter, not only with his letters, but with some things he was used to say in conversation, as that there was a prophecy in the books of the Sibyls, that three of the Cornelian family should be masters of Rome, two of which, Cinna and Sulla, had already been so; that he was the third, for whom that honour was reserved by the fates; besides, that was the twentieth year from the burning of the Capitol, which the haruspices, from divers prodigies, had often foretold would be remarkable for a bloody civil war. Upon this the letters were read, after each of the writers had owned his seal; and the Senate voted, that Lentulus should abdicate his office, and that both he and the rest should be secured in the custody of Gentlemen. Accordingly Lentulus is delivered up to Publius Lentulus Spinther, who was at that time Ædile, Cethegus to Quintus Cornificius, Statilius to Caius Cæsar, Gabinius to Mark Crassus, Cæparius, for he had been fetched back to town a little before, to Cn. Terentius a Senator.*

XLIX. In the mean time the common people, who, upon the first discovery of the plot, from the love of novelty, had too much favoured

vebat,

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 51

vebat, mutata mente, Catilinæ confilia execrari; Ciceronem ad cœlum tollere; velut ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque lætitiā agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora prædæ magis, quam detrimento, fore; incendiū vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat; quippe cui omnes copiæ in usu quotidiano & cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem, ad Catilinam proficiscentem, ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is cum se diceret de conjuratione indicaturum, si fides publica data esset; iussus a consule, quæ sciret, edicere, eadem fere, quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum edocet. Præterea, se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinæ nuntiaret; ne eum Lentulus & Cethegus, alique ex conjuratione deprehensi tenerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo & ceterorum animos resciret, & illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. Sed, ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summa potentia;

*the war, now changing their minds, begun to curse the designs of Catiline, and to extol Cicero to the heavens; and, as being now secured against the slavery they were threatened with, were full of joy and jollity. For the other acts of war they thought might turn more to their advantage than detriment; but the firing of the town they look'd upon as a cruel wild project, and what would have been pernicious to them especially, whose substance consisted entirely in cloaths, and a few household-goods. After this, one Lucius Tarquinius was brought before the Senate, who was said to be going over to Catiline, and had been therefore brought back to town. He offered to make a full discovery of the plot, if he might have the publick faith for his pardon: And being thereupon ordered by the Consul to declare what he knew, he gave much the same information Volturcius had done, as to firing of the town, the design'd massacre, and the march of the enemy. He added, that he had been dispatched by M. Crassus to tell Catiline, not to be frighted at the seizing of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conspirators, but make the more haste to town, for the encouragement of the rest, and for the release of those that were prisoners. But when Tarquin named Crassus, a person of the highest quality, a vast estate, and mighty power; some looking upon what was said as incredible, and others, tho' they believed it true, yet because so powerful a man was rather to be wheedled,*



alii rem incredibilem rati; pars, tametsi verum existumabat, tamen, quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda, quam exagitanda, videbatur, plerique, Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant, indicem falsum esse; deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque, Cicerone consulente, frequens senatus decernit, Tarquinii indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum; neque amplius potestatem faciendam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. Erant eo tempore, qui existumarent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum; quo facilius, appellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum ajebant; ne Crassus, more suo, suscepto malorum patrocini, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam. Sed iisdem temporibus Q. Catulus & C. Piso neque gratia, neque precibus, neque precio Ciceronem impellere quivere; uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Cæsar falso no-

than provoked at such a juncture, being most of them too under particular obligations to Crassus, they all cried out the informer was a rascal, and desired the house might immediately go upon that affair. Which Cicero complying with, and moving the house accordingly, they voted by a great majority, that Tarquin's information appeared to them to be false, and that he be kept in custody, and not be enlarged, till he discovered the person, at whose instigation he had forged that lie. There were some at that time, who did believe that the thing was a project of Publius Autronius, in order to screen the conspirators, by naming Crassus as one. Some said Tarquin was put upon it by Cicero, lest Crassus should, according to his way, take upon him the protection of the villains, and thereby confound the proceedings of the government against them. And I myself afterwards heard Crassus say, that that base trick had been put upon him by Cicero. But at the same time Q. Catulus and C. Piso could by no interest, importunity, or money, prevail upon Cicero to have Cæsar falsely named as a conspirator, by the Allobroges, or any one else. Both those gentlemen were bitter enemies to him, Piso having been prosecuted by him in an action of damages, for the unjust punishment of a certain person of Gallia beyond the Po. Catulus bore him a grudge, ever after the time of his standing for the place of high-priest, when he, tho' a man in years, that had bore the greatest offices in the state, came

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## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 53

minaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant; Piso, oppugnatus in iudicio repetundarum, propter cuiusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus, ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus; quod extrema ætate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Cæsare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur; quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singillatim circumundo, atque ementiendo quæ se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicent, magnam invidia conflaverant; usque adeo, uti nonnulli equites Rom. qui præfidii causa cum telis erant circum ædem Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi nobilitate impulsæ, quo studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minarentur. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur, & dum legatis Allobrogum & T. Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur, liberti & pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus,

*off baffled by Cæsar, who was at that time but a very young man. The charge seemed likely to pass, because he by his private generosity, and publick diversions, for the entertainment of the people, was got into a world of debt. But being not able to engage the Consul in such a piece of roguery, they by going about, and falsely reporting, what they pretended to have heard from Volturcius and the Allobroges, brought him under a very great odium, insomuch that some gentlemen of the Equestrian order, who were posted in arms about the temple of Concord, as a guard to the house, whether pushed on by a sense of danger, or some nobler motive, to shew their zeal for the publick, threatened Cæsar at his coming out of the house with their drawn swords. Whilst these things are done in the Senate, and rewards are voted for the Allobroges and T. Volturcius, whose information was approved of; some freed-men and clients of Lentulus dispersed themselves in town, and endeavoured to engage the workmen and slaves they met with in the streets, to rescue him. And some would gladly have prevailed with the leaders of the mob to head them, who were used for hire to give disturbance now and then to the government. But Cethegus by messengers begged of his slaves and freed-men, choice blades, and such as had been trained up in the practice of bold wicked pranks, to form themselves into a body, and break in to him with arms. The Consul being*

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opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant. Partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui precio rempublicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem per nuncios familiam, atque libertos suos, lectos & exercitatos in audaciam, orabat; uti, grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præfidiis, uti res atque tempus monebat, convoto senatu refert, *quid de his fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant.* Sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat contra rempublicam fecisse. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his, qui in custodiis tenebantur, & præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensiforent, supplicium sumendum decreverat. Isque postea, permotus oratione C. Cæsaris, pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quod de ea re, præfidiis additis, referendum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

*L. Omnis homines, Patres Conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa efficiunt; neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul & usui paruit. Ubi inten-*

*informed of these attempts, placed guards as the occasion required, and then calling the Senate together, desired to know their pleasure with relation to the prisoners, what they would have done with them. A full house had already voted them guilty of a traiterous design against the government. Then D. Junius Silanus being first asked, what he thought of the matter, for he was at that time Consul elect, declared for capital punishment to be inflicted upon those in custody, as also L. Cassius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus, and Q. Annius, if they should be taken. But being afterwards much affected with a speech of C. Cæsar to the house, he declared for the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who was for having the further debate of that matter deferred, 'till the house was provided with a better guard. Now Cæsar, when the Consul was come to him, and desired his sentiments, spoke to the effect following.*

*L. Illustrious fathers, All men in their debates upon matters of difficulty, ought to be free from the passions of hatred, love, anger, and pity. The mind of man does not easily see the truth, where those obstructions are in the way; nor has ever any man been able to consult his interest and his passion together. Where the understand-*

*deris*



# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 55

deris ingenium, valet. Si  
lubido possidet, ea domi-  
natur; animus nihil va-  
let. Magna mihi copia  
est memorandi, P. C. qui  
reges aut qui populi, ira  
aut misericordia impuls-  
i, male consuluerint. Sed ea  
malo dicere, quæ majores  
nostri, contra lubidinem  
animi sui, recte atque or-  
dine fecere. Bello Ma-  
cedonico, quod cum rege  
Perse gessimus, Rhodio-  
rum civitas, magna atque  
magnifica, quæ populi  
Rom. opibus creverat, in-  
fida atque adversa nobis  
fuit. Sed postquam bello  
confecto, de Rhodiis con-  
sultum est, majores nostri,  
ne quis divitiarum magis,  
quam injuriæ causa, bel-  
lum inceptum diceret,  
impunitos eos dimisere.  
Item bellis Punicis omni-  
bus, cum sæpe Carthagi-  
nenses & in pace & per  
inducias multa nefanda  
facinora fecissent, nun-  
quam ipsi per occasionem  
taliam fecere; magis, quod  
se dignum foret, quam  
quod in illos jure fieri pos-  
set, quærebant. Hoc  
item vobis providendum  
est, P. C. ne plus valeat  
apud vos P. Lentuli &  
cæterorum scelus, quam  
vestra dignitas; neu ma-  
gis iræ vestræ, quam fa-  
mæ, consulatis. Nam si  
digna pœna pro factis  
eorum reperitur, novum

ing is in any case duly applied, it  
does its work effectually. But if  
passion of any kind possesses the  
mind, that rules, a man's sense or  
parts signify nothing. I could  
bring many instances of kings and  
states, that have by anger or pity  
been led into pernicious mistakes.  
But I chuse rather to take notice  
to you of the behaviour of our  
ancestors, wherein they shew'd a  
noble self-denial. In the Mace-  
donian war, which we had with  
king Perse, the Rhodians, a great  
and flourishing people, who had  
been raised by the support of the  
Romans, proved base and trea-  
cherous to us. Yet when, upon  
the conclusion of the war, the  
case of the Rhodians came under  
consideration, our ancestors, to  
leave no pretence for saying that  
the war had been undertaken out  
of a covetous humour, more than  
upon account of injury received,  
pardoned them. In all the Car-  
thaginian wars too, tho' that peo-  
ple in time of peace, or cessation of  
arms, had been guilty of many  
wicked things against us, yet our  
ancestors never upon any occasion  
return'd them the like usage, re-  
garding more what was worthy of  
themselves, than what might have  
been fairly practis'd against them.  
And in like manner ought you,  
gentlemen, to take care, that the  
wickedness of Lentulus and the  
rest of the conspirators, have not  
more influence upon you, than  
your own honour, and not grati-  
fy your resentment at the expence  
of your reputation. For if a pu-  
nishment equal to their crime be  
confi-

*consilium approbo. Sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat; iis utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, compositæ atque magnifice casum reipublicæ miserati sunt; quæ belli sævitia esset, quæ victis acciderent, enumeravere; raptas virgines, pueros; divelli liberos a parentum complexu; matres familiarum pati, quæ victoribus collibissent; fana atque domos expoliari; cædem, incendia fieri; postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis, quo illa oratio pertinuit? An, uti vos infestos conjurationi facerent? Scilicet, quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendit. Non ita est. Neque cuiquam mortali-um injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur. Multi eas gravius æquo habuere. Sed alia aliis licentia est P. C. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam agunt, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt. Qui magno imperio præditi, in excelsa ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxima fortuna minima li-*

possible to be found, I approve of the strange advice given. But if the greatness of their villainy be such, as to puzzle the best invention to find out a punishment equal to it, I think we ought to content ourselves with such as are provided by law. Most of the gentlemen that spoke before me, have very elegantly and nobly lamented the misfortune of the commonwealth; have enumerated all the cruel consequences of a war, and the miserable circumstances the vanquished party must needs be in; such as the ravishing of virgins, the unnatural abuse of boys, the tearing away of children from the embraces of their parents, the exposing of matrons to the lust of the conquerors, the plundering of temples and houses, slaughter, the firing of towns; and finally, the filling of all places with arms, deadbodies, blood, and lamentation. But, for heavens sake, what does all that way of talking tend to? to incense you against the conspiracy? words, I warrant, will inflame those, whom so monstrous and villainous a crime cannot move. No, no. No man is apt to under-rate the injuries done to himself. Many aggravate them beyond all reason. But all men have not the same liberty allowed them. If persons in low life, through passion, are guilty of any misconduct, few know of it; the same and fortunes of such men are generally equal. But those in great power and authority, stand high, and their actions are known to all men. Thus in the greatest  
centia

centia est. Neque studere, neque odisse; sed minime irasci decet. Quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego sic existumo, P. C. omnis cruciatus minores, quam facinora illorum, esse. Sed plerique mortales postrema meminere; & in hominibus impiis sceleris eorum obliti, de pœna differunt, si ea paulo severior fuerit. D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio, quæ dixerit, studio reipublicæ dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere. Eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia ejus mihi non crudelis (quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest?) Sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus pœnæ novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est differere; cum, præsertim diligentia clarissimi viri consulis, tanta præsidia sint in armis. De pœna, possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atq; miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cunc-

fortune is there the least licence allowable. In that there must be no party-prejudice, or hatred, and passion least of all. What is called anger upon other occasions, in persons invested with great power, goes by the name of pride, and cruelty. Truly gentlemen, I am of opinion, that no punishment can be thought of, bad enough for their crimes. But most men remember the upshot of things, and in the case of villains, forgetting their wickedness, talk only of their punishment, if that be a little-too severe. I am well assured that the worthy brave gentleman D. Silanus said, what he did out of zeal to the publick service, without the least regard to favour, or ill-will, to any one: such is his virtue and modesty to my knowledge. But his advice appears to me, not cruel indeed (for what can be cruel against such wretches?) but not agreeable to the proceedings of our government. For certainly, Silanus, either your fear, or the injury design'd the publick, moved you to advise a punishment unknown to our laws. As to your fear, I need say nothing, especially since by the diligence of our glorious Consul, so sufficient a force has been provided for our security. And as to the punishment, we may say indeed, what is the truth in reality, that in a state of mourning and misery, death is a deliverance, not a punishment. That puts an end to all the miseries of mankind, beyond which, there is no room for either sorrow or joy. But by heaven; tell me, why did

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*ta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis, quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur? An, quia lex Porcia vetat? At aliæ leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exilium permitti jubent. An quia gravius est verberari, quam necari? Quid autem acerbum, aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin, quia levius est; qui convenit in minore negotio legem observare, cum eam in maiore neglexeris? At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicæ decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cuius libido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidet, quicquid evenerit. Cæterum vos, P. C. quid in alios statuat, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt. Sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit; novum illud exemplum ab dignis & idoneis ad indignos & non idoneos transfertur.*

*LI. Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuere, qui rempublicam tractarent. Hi primo cæpere pessimum quemque & omnibus invisum indemnatum necare. Eo populus lætari, & merito dicere fieri.*

you not advise too to have them severely lashed, before they were put to death? Was it because the Porcian law expressly forbids it? But there are other laws too, that equally forbid the putting a condemned Roman to death, and allow him the favour of banishment. Or was it because whipping is a severer punishment than death? But what can be too cruel or severe against men convicted of so horrid a villany? But if it was because whipping is really a lesser punishment, is it fit to regard the law in a matter of smaller moment, whilst you flight it in a greater? But who will blame, you'll say, what shall be resolved upon against men bent upon the destruction of the commonwealth? Time and fortune, who rules the world at pleasure. They certainly deserve the worst that can befall them. But do you, worthy fathers, consider well what you resolve upon against them. All ill examples had their rise from harmless beginnings. But when power comes into the hands of ignorant or wicked men, the precedent set is transferred from deserving and proper objects to such as are not so.

*LI. After the Lacedæmonians had conquered the Athenians, they lodged the government in the hands of thirty persons; who at first begun to put to death, without tryal, the wickedest amongst them, and such as were universally odious. This the people rejoiced at, and said was right pro-*  
*Post,*

# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 59

*\*Post, ubi paulatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos & malos lubricose interficere, cæteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit. Nostra memoria victor Sulla, cum Damasippum & alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicæ creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? Homines scelestos & factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitarant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnæ initium cladis fuit. Namque, uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo aut vas aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti is in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi mors lætitiæ fuerat, paulo post ipsi traherantur. Neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego hoc non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus vereor. Sed in magna civitate multa & varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi. Ubi hoc exemplo, per senati decretum, consul gladium eduxerit; quis illi finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur?*

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ceeding. But presently, as this humour grew upon them, they proceeded to put good and bad promiscuously to death at their pleasure, and fill'd the rest with apprehensions of the like usage. Thus the poor city being miserably enslaved, suffered sufficiently for their silly rejoicing. In our times too, when Sulla, after his success in the war, ordered Damasippus, and some others like him, who had raised themselves by the misfortunes of their country, to be put to death, who did not commend him for it? Every body said, that those wicked factious rascals, who had plagued the publick by their seditious practices, were deservedly put to death. But that was the first part only acted in one of the most bloody scenes that ever was. For as any of the party chanced to take a fancy for any gentleman's house, in town or country, nay but any piece of plate, or fine coat, he took care to get him put upon the list of the proscribed. Thus they who rejoiced at the death of Damasippus, were themselves soon after hurried away to execution. Nor was there any end of this butchery, 'till Sulla had glutted all his followers with riches. I apprehend indeed nothing like this in Mark Tully, or these times. But in a mighty state, there are many various humours. At another time, another Consul, who shall have an army at his command, may be under a mistake, and then, when, upon this precedent, the Consul shall by a vote of the Senate draw the sword, who shall stop, or over-rule it?

LII. *Majores nostri, Patres Conscripti, neque consilii neque audaciæ umquam eguere. Neque superbia obstabat, quo minus instituta aliena, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt. Postremo, quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur. Imitari, quam invidere bonis, malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadvertiebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit, & multitudine civium factiones valere, circumveniri innocentes, alia hujusmodi fieri cœpere; tunc lex Porcia, aliæque leges paratæ sunt; quibus legibus exilium damnatis permissum est. Hanc ego causam, P. C. quo minus consilium novum capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, & augeri exercitum Catilinæ? Minime.*

LII. Our fore-elders, worthy fathers, never wanted either conduct or courage; nor did a spirit of pride hinder them from imitating the laudable customs of other nations. They borrowed from the Samnites arms and weapons of war, most of the ornaments of our magistrates from the Tuscans. In fine, they studiously put in practice at home whatsoever appeared, either amongst friends or foes, worthy of their reception. They chose rather to imitate, than envy the good. Now at that time, according to the usage of Greece, they used to punish by scourging, and put citizens to death. But when the Roman state was grown up to its full magnitude, and in a numerous people factions prevailed, innocent men begun to be trepanned, and other the like wickedness to be practised; then the Porcian law, and other laws were provided, by which all such as should be condemned for capital crimes, were allowed the favour of banishment. And therefore I think this a very substantial reason against the new proceedings advised to. Certainly their conduct and wisdom, who from a small rise produced so vast an empire, was far above ours, who have much ado to keep what was so well provided to our hands. Well, you'll say, would I have them discharged, to augment Catiline's army? By no means. But my sentence is this. Let their estates be confiscated, themselves kept in close custody, in the most substantial boroughs. Let no one

*Sed*



## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 61

*Sed ita censeo, publicandas eorum pecunias; ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxime opibus valent; neu quis de his postea ad senatum, referat, neve cum populo agat. Qui aliter fecerit, senatum existimare, eum contra rempublicam & salutem omnium facturum.*

LIII. Postquam Cæsar dicendi finem fecit; cæteri verbo, alius alii varie assentiebantur. At M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujusmodi orationem habuit.

LIV. Longe mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, & cum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de pœna eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focis suis bellum paravere. Res autem monet, cavere ab illis magis, quam, quid in illos statuamus, consultare. Nam cætera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris, ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores. Capta urbe, nihil sit reliqui victis. Sed per deos immortalis, vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris, quam rempublicam, fecistis. Si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quæ amplexamini,

ever move the Senate, or make the least application to the people in their favour: And let it be declared as the opinion of this house, that whoever does, is a traitor to his country, and an enemy to the commonwealth.

LIII. After Cæsar had made an end of his speech, the rest signified their assent, some to one and some to another. But M. Porcius Cato being asked what he thought of the matter, made a speech to the following effect.

LIV. I am, gentlemen, of a quite different opinion from you in this case, when I consider it, and the danger we are in, as also the advice that has been offered by some. The business they seem alone to have had in view, is the punishment of those who have formed a design to make war upon their country, parents, and religion. Now the nature of the thing obliges us to consider rather, how we may guard effectually against them, than how we are to punish them. For other crimes you may punish, after they are committed; but unless you prevent the commission of this, it will be in vain to fly to the law for vengeance. When the city shall be taken, the conquered will have nothing left. But, by the immortal Gods, I speak to you, who have always had more regard to your fine houses, statues, and pictures, than the welfare of your country. If you have a mind to keep the things, be they what they

*reti-*

*retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere vultis; expergiscimini aliquando, & capeffite rempublicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus, non de sociorum injuriis. Libertas & anima nostra in dubio est. Sæpenumero, P. C. multa verba in hoc ordine feci. Sæpe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum. Multosque mortalis ea causa advorfos habeo. Qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius libidini malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea tamen si vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma erat. Opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus; neque quantum aut quam magnificentum imperium populi Romani sit; sed hæc, cujuscumque modi videntur, nostra, an nobiscum una hostium futura sint.*

LV. *Hic mihi quifquam mansuetudinem & misericordiam nominat? Jampridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amisimus. Quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur; eo respublica in extremo sita est. Sint sane, quoniam*

will, you are so fond of, and to find time for the pursuit of your pleasures; rouze at last, and stand up for the defence of your country. We are not now treating of the revenue of the state, or the ill usage of our allies. Our liberty, our lives are at stake. I have, gentlemen, spoke often and much in this house. I have often complained of the extravagance and avarice that prevail amongst us; and have, by so doing, made my self many enemies. Now I, who would never indulge myself in the least fault, could not easily pardon the crimes of others. But tho' you minded little what I said, yet our country was secure. Our great opulency would admit of some negligence in the management of our affairs. But a reformation of manners, or the aggrandizing the state, is not the business, we have now under consideration; but whether what we have, be it what it will, should be our own, or, together with ourselves, be delivered up a prey to the enemy.

LV. And shall any one talk to me, in this case, of mildness and mercy? We have long since indeed lost the right names of things from amongst us. The giving of what belongs to other people, is called generosity; and the courage to venture upon wickedness, is named fortitude; by which means it is, that the state has been brought upon the very brink of destruction.

# BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 63

*ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis. Sint misericordes in furibus ærarii. Ne illis sanguinem nostrum largiantur; & dum paucis sceleratis parcant, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene & composite C. Cæsar paullo ante in hoc ordine de vita & morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur; diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, fœda atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit, pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet, ne, si Romæ sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis, aut a multitudine conductæ, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, & non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit. Sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet; eo magis refert, me mihi atque vobis timere.*

LVI. Quare cum de P. Lentulo cæterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ, & de omnibus conjuratis decerne-

on. Let them, since it is now become the fashion of the times, be generous out of the fortunes of our allies. Let them shew compassion to the robbers of the publick; but let them not pretend to make a present of our blood to them; and by sparing a few villains, bring destruction upon all good people. C. Cæsar spoke just now very handsomely and prettily of life and death, as judging, I presume, the vulgar notions of hell, where the bad are divided from the good, and confined in nasty, uncomfortable, filthy, dismal places, to be false; and therefore advised to confiscate their estates, and keep their persons under confinement in the boroughs; from an apprehension, I suppose, if they should be kept at Rome, of their being rescued, either by their fellows, or a hired mob. As if we had rascals and villains only in town, and not all Italy over; or as if bold attempts would not be more likely to succeed, where there was the least ability to oppose them. This therefore is very idle advice, if he fears any danger from them; but if he alone is not afraid, whilst every body else is, I am the more obliged to be afraid, both for myself and you.

LVI. Wherefore, in judging the case of Lentulus, you may depend upon it, you determine that of Catiline's army, and the rest of the conspirators, at the same time. The more vigour you



*re. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit. Si paullulum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existimare, majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset; multo pulcerrum eam nos haberemus. Quippe sociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque equorum major copia nobis, quam illis, est. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere; quæ nobis nulla sunt. Domi industria, foris justum imperium; animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egestatem; privatim opulentiam. Laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam. Inter bonos & malos discrimen nullum. Omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniæ aut gratiæ servitis; eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuum rempublicam. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjurare cives nobilissimi patriam incendere; Gallorum gentem, infestissimam nomini Romano, ad*

act with, the more discouraged they will be. But if they see you faint-hearted, they will all forthwith advance boldly upon us. Do not think that our fore-fathers brought the Roman state from a low rise to it's present height by their arms. If they had, we should then be in a much more happy secure condition than they. For we have more allies and people, as well as more arms and horses, than they. But there were other things which made them great, which we have nothing of. I mean industry at home, and just management abroad; minds free from the influence of vice and humour in publick councils: In the room of which, we have got luxury and avarice, publick poverty, and private wealth. We admire riches, and are in love with idleness. We make no distinction between the worthy and the worthless. Ambition is possessed of all the rewards of virtue. Nor is it to be wondered at, whilst you each of you pursue separate measures only for your own interest; whilst you mind nothing but your pleasures at home, and in this place wealth and honour. 'Tis this behaviour of yours, that has encouraged the villains to fall upon the abandoned state. But I let these things alone. Persons of the highest quality have engaged in a conspiracy to fire the city, and are endeavouring to bring the Gauls, those mortal enemies of Rome, to join them in a war against us. The commander of the enemy is at our gates with an army; and do you  
*bellum*

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 65

*bellum arcessunt. Dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est. Vos cunctamini etiam nunc, & dubitatis, quid, intra mœnia deprehensis hostibus, faciatis? misereamini, censeo. Deliquere homines adolescentuli per ambitionem. Atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Næ ista vobis mansuetudo & misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. Imo vero maxime; sed, inertia & molitia animi, alius alium expectantes, cunctamini; videlicet diis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maximis sæpe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur. Vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospere omnia cedunt. Ubi socordiæ tete atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequicquam deos implores. Irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari iussit. Atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatæ fortitudinis morte pœnas dedit. Vos, de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet*

pretend to demur up the matter? or make any doubt, what you ought to do with those of the enemy you have caught within your walls? You should take pity of them, I suppose. They are only young fellows led away by the love of power, and therefore ought to be discharged. Truly that mildness and mercy, if they get but arms into their hands, will prove your destruction. The case indeed is very dismal; but you are notwithstanding, it seems, fearless about it. Far from it; but for want of spirit and vigour, you hang back, waiting one another's motions; confiding, I suppose, in the providence of the immortal Gods, who have frequently saved this state of ours in the greatest of dangers. But the assistance of the Gods is not procured by vows and womanish prayers. All designs succeed by vigilance, industry, and wise counsels. If you give yourselves up to idleness and sloth, 'tis in vain to invoke the assistance of the Gods. They are angry and enraged at you. In the days of old, Aulus Manlius Torquatus in the Gallick war, ordered his son to be put to death, for fighting contrary to his order. Thus was that excellent youth punished for his ill-governed courage. You are in doubt what to do with parricides, moved, I suppose, by the great innocence of their lives, before they engaged in this project. Yes, shew a regard to the quality of Lentulus, if ever he shewed the least to his own chastity, or credit, to either Gods or men.

I

vita

*vita cætera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli; si ipse pudicitiae, si famæ suæ, si diis aut hominibus unquam ullis pepercit. Ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiæ, nisi iterum jam patri bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Cæpario loquar? Quibus si quidquam pensi umquam fuisset, non ea consilia de republica habuissent. Postremo, Patres Conscripti, si mehercle peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi; quoniam verba contemnitis. Sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu in faucibus urget. Alii, intra mœnia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes. Neque parari neque consuli quidquam occulte potest; quo magis properandum est. Quare ita ego censeo: Cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica in maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii & legatorum Allobrogum convicti, confessique sint, cædem, incendia, aliaque fœda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse; de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum supplicium sumendum.*

Pardon the youth of Cethegus, if this be not the second time he has made war upon his country. For what need I say any thing of Gabinus, Statilius, and Cæparius? who, if they had had but the least consideration at all, would never have engaged in such designs against the publick. Finally, fathers, if there was in this case room for misconduct, I could easily suffer you to be set right by the event, since you regard not words. But we are pushed home on all sides. Catiline with an army is just upon us. Others of the enemy are within our walls, and in the midst of the city itself. No preparations or consultations of ours can be concealed from them, and therefore we must use expedition. Wherefore my sentence is this. Since the state has been brought into the utmost danger by the villainous contrivance of some wicked members of it, and these have been sufficiently proved guilty of the same, by the evidence of T. Volturcius, and the deputies of the Allobroges, and have confessed their being concerned in a design to assassinate divers gentlemen, and fire the city, and to commit various other dismal and cruel crimes against their fellow-citizens and country, my sentence, I say, is, that they be punished according to antient usage, as being, by their own confession, manifestly guilty of crimes worthy of death.



LVII. Postquam Cato adfedit; consulares omnes, itemque senati magna pars, sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cœlum ferunt. Alii alios increpantes timidos vocant. Cato clarus atque magnus habetur. Senati decretum fit, sicut ille censuerat. Sed mihi, multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Romanus domi militiæque, mari atque terra præclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quæ res maxime tanta negotia sustinisset, Sciebam sæpe numero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse. Cognitionem parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc, sæpe fortunæ violentiam tolerasse; facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitant, constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est; rursus res publica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, veluti effœta parente, multis tempestati-

LVII. After Cato sat down, all the Consular gentlemen, with the greatest part of the rest, applauded his sentence, and extol his resolution to the heavens, upbraiding and calling one another cowards, but magnifying and celebrating Cato for a hero. Accordingly a vote passed conformable to his advice. Now, as I have read and heard much of the noble achievements of the Roman people, both in peace and war, by sea and by land, I had a mind to make a strict enquiry into the true spring of all their mighty success. I was sensible, they had oftentimes with a handful of men engaged vast armies of their enemies. I was not ignorant, they had carried on wars against mighty princes with small forces; and besides, had oftentimes felt the severest strokes of ill-fortune; that the Greeks were superior to them in eloquence, and the Gauls for reputation in war. Upon due consideration I found, that the prodigious bravery and conduct of a few fine men did all, and was the true cause, that poverty prevailed against riches, and small numbers against great. But after the city became debauched with luxury and idleness, still the commonwealth, by reason of its grandeur, was able to bear up under all the vices of its commanders and magistrates; but yet Rome, like a woman effete with the production of a numerous brood, did not, for a long time, produce so much as one man of any extraordinary character. But within the compass of my own times, we have  
bus

bus haud sane quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, ingenti virtute, diversis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato & C. Cæsar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire non fuit consilium; quin utriusque naturam & mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem. Igitur his genus, ætas, eloquentia prope æqualia fuere. Magnitudo animi par, item gloria; sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur; integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mansuetudine & misericordia clarus factus; huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato, nihil largiundo, gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium; in altero malis perniciēs. Illius facilitas, hujus constantia, laudabatur. Postremo Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua negligere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris; sed maxime severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite,

had two persons of huge abilities, but quite different dispositions, M. Cato and C. Cæsar, whom I was not willing to pass slightly by, since so fair an opportunity presented of enlarging upon their characters. They were pretty much upon a par, with respect to their extraction, age, and eloquence. They had both the same greatness of soul, with an equal share of glory, but of a different kind. Cæsar was celebrated for a boundless and noble generosity, Cato for the integrity of his life. The former became famous by his mildness and mercy; his severity gave a mighty reputation to the latter. Cæsar acquired glory by the practice of generosity, compassion, and clemency; Cato by refusing to waste his substance in bribing the people. In one there was a sure refuge for the miserable; in the other certain destruction for the wicked. The easiness of the former was admired; the steady resolution of the latter. Finally, Cæsar was laborious, vigilant, intent upon all occasions of serving his friends, to the neglect of his own concerns; denied no body any thing that was worth their acceptance, and sought nothing for himself, but the command of an army, with a new war, in order to display his vast abilities to the world. Cato was a lover of moderation, decency, and above all, strict discipline. He did not vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the factious, but in bravery with the brave, in modesty with the modest, and in justice with the neque

neque factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat. Esse, quam videri, bonus malebat. Ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis illum adsequebatur.

LVIII. Postquam, uti dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit; consul optimum factu ratus, noctem, quæ instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumphos, quæ supplicium postulabat, parare jubet. Ipse, prædiis dispositis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit. Idem fit cæteris per prætores. Est in carcere locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad lævam, circiter XII. pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus vincta; sed incultu, tenebris, odore facta, atque terribilis ejus facies. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus; vindices rerum capitalium, quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex gente clarissima Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cæpario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

LIX. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia, quam ipse

innocent. He chose rather to be good, than appear so; and therefore the less he sought after glory, the more it followed him.

LVIII. After the Senate, as I have said, gave into Cato's opinion, the Consul thinking it the best way to have the sentence executed that very night, which was just at hand; for fear of any rising in the city, in case of delay, orders the Triumviri to have all things ready for the same. He himself conducts Lentulus to prison, where he placed strong guards; whilst the Prætors do the same by the rest of the conspirators. There is a place in the jail, called Tullianum, upon a small rise to the left hand, as one enters, which is sunk twelve foot within the earth, secured on all sides by strong walls, and a good arch of stone above, but a nasty, dark, stinking, dismal place. As soon as Lentulus was let down into the same, the executioners appointed for the purpose strangled him. Thus did that gentleman of a patrician family, the great family of the Cornelii, who had been Consul of Rome, come to an end suited to his manners and behaviour. Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinus, and Cæparius, were all punished in the same manner.

LIX. Whilst these things are doing at Rome, Catiline formed two legions out of the troops he adduxe-



adduxerat & Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, cohortes pro numero militum complet. Dein, uti quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, æqualiter distribuerat; ac brevi spatium legiones numero hominum expleverat; cum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militari-  
bus armis instructa. Cæteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii præacutas fudes portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere; modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam versus castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare. Sperabat propediem magnas copias se habiturum, si Romæ socii incepta paravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum magnæ copię concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul alienum suis rationibus existumans, videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicasse. Sed postquam in castra nuntius pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo, & Cethego, cæterisque, quos supra memoravi, suppli-

had brought with him, and those of Manlius together, and makes up his battalions according to the number of his men; and then as any volunteers, or those that had before engaged in the plot, came in, he disposed of them equally among his troops; and in a short time made his legions full as to number, tho' he had not at first above two thousand men. Of these, about a fourth part were compleatly armed; the rest, as it happened, had spears or lances, and some only sharp stakes. But after the approach of Anthony with his army, Catiline took to the mountains, and one while made a movement towards Rome, and then again towards Gaul; but would give the enemy no opportunity of battle. He hoped he should speedily have a vast army, if his fellows did but succeed in the execution of their designs in town. In the mean-time, he refused the slaves that came into him at first in great numbers, depending upon the strength of the conspiracy; and at the same time not thinking it consistent with his pretensions, to appear to jumble freemen and slaves together in the same interest. But after news arrived in the camp, that a full discovery had been made of the conspiracy at Rome; that Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest mentioned above, had been all put to death, most of Catiline's men, whom the hopes of plunder, or the love of change, had tempted to the war, slip away. The rest Catiline led by great marches through craggy mountains, into  
cium

cium sumptum, plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur. Reliquos Catilina per montis asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit; eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte profugeret in Galliam Transalpinam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præsidebat; ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quæ supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius longe aberat; utpote qui magno exercitu locis æquioribus expeditos in fugam sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam vidit montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugæ neque præsidii ullam spem, optimum factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum conflare. Itaque, concione advocata, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

LX. *Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba viris virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cuiusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest,*

*the neighbourhood of Pistorium, in order to make his way privately through some narrow defiles into Transalpine Gaul. But Q. Metellus Celer was posted with three legions in the territory of Picene, who guessed by the streights Catiline was in, he had such a design, as has been mentioned, in view. Wherefore being informed by some deserters from him; of the rout he had taken, he immediately march'd away, and encamped at the bottom of the mountains, where he was to pass into Gaul. Nor was Anthony far off, who pursued the enemy flying with little or no baggage, with a good army, along the low country. But Catiline finding himself inclosed by the mountains, and the enemy's troops together, that all went wrong in the city, and that there was no hopes either of flight or defence within walls, thinking it the best way in such a case, to try the fortune of a battle, he resolved to engage Anthony as soon as possible. Wherefore calling his army together, he made them a speech to the following purpose.*

LX. I am very sensible, gentlemen, that words cannot inspire courage, and that an army of lubbers will never become vigorous and active, or of cowards brave, by any thing a general can say to them. Just as much courage as nature or use has given a man, will he shew in time of bat-  
tanta

*tanta in bello patere solet. Quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequicquam hortere. Timor animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos, quo parca monerem, advocavi; simul uti causam consilii mei aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli, quantam ipsi nobisque cladem adtulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe præsidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero, quo in loco res nostræ sint, juxta mecum omnes intelligitis.*

**LXI.** *Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant. Diutius in his locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis; & cum prælium inibitis, meminertis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem, atque patriam, in dextris vestris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt; commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt. Sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa adversa fient; neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non*

*tle. 'Tis in vain to encourage one, whom neither glory nor danger can work upon; his fear prevents all attention to what you say. I have therefore called you together, only to give you a little advice, and acquaint you with the reason of my proceedings. You know full well, gentlemen, what mischief the dulness and inactivity of Lentulus has brought upon himself and us all; and how, whilst I wait here for reinforcements from town, I have been prevented from getting into Gaul. Now you are all as sensible as I myself, of the state of our affairs.*

**LXI.** We have two armies upon us, one from Rome, and another from Gaul. The want of corn, and other necessaries, will not allow of our continuance here, tho' we never so much desired it. And whithersoever we think of marching, we must make our way with the sword. Wherefore be bold and resolute, and when you engage, consider that you carry riches, honour, glory, liberty, and your country, in your right hands. If we conquer, all will be safe; we shall have plenty of provisions, and the boroughs and colonies all at our devotion. But if we flinch through fear, our case will be the reverse. No place or friend will be able to secure him, whom arms could not. Besides, gentlemen, there is not the same necessity incumbent upon us and them. We fight for our country, liberty, and lives; they to ad-



*texerint. Præterea, milites, non eadem nobis & illis necessitudo impendet. Nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus. Illis supervacaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare; quo audacius aggredimini, memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit nobis cum summa turpitudine in exilio ætatem agere. Potuistis nonnulli Romæ, amissis bonis, alienas opes expectare. Quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decrevistis. Si hæc relinquere vultis, audacia opus est. Nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quis corpus tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in prælio iis maximum est periculum, qui maxime timent. Audacia pro muro habetur. Cum vos considero, milites, & cum facta vestra aestumo, magna me spes victoriæ tenet. Animus, ætas, virtus vestra me hortantur; præterea necessitudo, quæ etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam, multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. Quod si virtuti vestræ fortuna inviderit, cavete, ne inulti animam amittatis; neve capti potius, sicuti pecora, trucidemini, quam virprum more pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis.*

vance the power of a few, which they have no need to do; which should encourage you to fall on bravely, mindful of your former courage. We might have lived in banishment, but with the utmost disgrace. Some of you too might have lived at Rome in a starving condition, and a state of dependance. But because those things appeared dishonourable and intolerable to brave men, you resolved upon the part you now act. And if you desire to get out of your present ill circumstances, courage is the only way to it. None but conquerors ever change war for peace. For to expect security in flight, when the arms that should secure a man, are turned from the enemy, is madness. The most timorous are always in the most dangers in time of battle. Valour is a wall of defence. When I consider you, and your gallant behaviour, gentlemen, I am in great hopes of victory. Your spirit, youth, and courage, give me heart; as also the necessity you are under, which makes cowards brave. For the narrowness of the place we are to engage in, secures us against being surrounded by the enemy's numbers. But if fortune envy your bravery; be sure you fall not unrevenged. Suffer not yourselves to be taken and slaughtered like cattle; but fight like men rather, and leave the enemy a bloody, and a sorrowful victory.

LXII. Hæc ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus signa canere jubet; atque instructos ordines in locum æquum deducit. Dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus, ex æquato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter finitros montis, & ab dextera rupes aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit; reliqua signa in subsidiis arctius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnis, & evocatos, præterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Fæsulanium quandam in sinistra parte curare jubet. Ipse cum libertis & colonis propter aquilam adfuit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus æger, quod prælio adesse nequibat, M. Petrejo legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumulti causa conscripserat, in fronte; post eas, cæterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse, equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans, appellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint se

LXII. *Soon after the delivery of this speech, he commanded the signal to be given for battle, and draws down his troops in proper order upon a ground commodious for him; and then having ordered all the horses away, to put the more resolution into his men, by making the danger of all alike, he being himself on foot, marshals his army, as the nature of the place, and his number of men required. For as the plain had on the left a mountain, and on the right a craggy rock, he drew up eight battalions in front, and the rest he placed close in the rear, to relieve them upon occasion. But he called from amongst them all the choicest centurions, and other old soldiers, even common soldiers too, and posted them in the foremost rank. He appoints C. Manlius to command on the right, and an officer of Fæsulæ in the left. He with his freed-men, and some of Sulla's old soldiers, that had settled in those parts, took up his stand by the eagle, which, it was said, C. Marius had in his army in the Cimbrick war. On the other side, C. Antonius being rendered by a fit of the gout; incapable to command himself upon this occasion, commissioned his lieutenant-general M. Petreius to supply his place. Accordingly he posts the old battalions, which he had drawn together upon account of this rebellion, in the front, and behind them the rest of the army, to reinforce them, if need required. He riding about, and calling upon his men, here and there by name, ani-*  
*contra*

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 75

*contra latrones inermis, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare.* Homo militaris, quod amplius annos 30. tribunus aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut prætor, cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerisque ipsos, factaque eorum fortia noverat, ea commemorando, militum animos accendebat.

LXIII. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petrejus tuba signum dat, cohortis paullatim incedere jubet. Idem fecit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis prælium committi posset; maximo clamore infestis signis concurrunt; pila omitunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani pristinae virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt. Maxima vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari; laborantibus succurrere; integros pro faucibus accerere; omnia providere; multum ipse pugnare, sæpe hostem ferire. Strenuus militis & boni imperatoris officia simul exsequabatur. Petrejus, ubi videt Catilinam, contra

*mates, encourages, and begs of them, to consider, that they were now to fight against a parcel of unarmed robbers, for their country, their children, and their all. And as he had led the life of a soldier, having been employ'd in the military service with great reputation, for above thirty years together, as tribune, commander of horse, lieutenant-general, or prætor, he was acquainted with most of the soldiers; and the brave actions they had performed, by taking notice of which, he very much raised their courage.*

LXIII. After a thorough inspection into the disposition of his troops, Petreius orders the signal to be sounded, and the battalions to advance slowly, whilst the enemy's army does the same. After they came near enough for the light-armed soldiers to begin the fight, both sides fall to work with a very great shout, sword in hand, without making use of their short lances. The veterans, mindful of their former bravery, engage the enemy in close fight with great fury; whilst they make as gallant a resistance, so that a very desperate battle ensued. In which Catiline, with a detached party, moved about in the first line, relieving the distressed, bringing up fresh men to supply the place of the wounded, and providing for all exigencies; fighting himself too in person very often, and performing at once all the duties of a stout soldier, and a good commander. Petreius finding Catiline, contrary to his expectations, stand to it



ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem prætoriam in medios hostis inducit; eosque perturbatos, atque alios alibi resistentis interficit. Deinde utrimque ex lateribus cæteros aggreditur. Manlius & Fæſulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam ſufas copias, ſequæ cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque priſtinæ dignitatis ſuæ, in confertiſſimos hoſtis incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXIV. Sed, confecto prælio, tum vero cerneſes, quanta audacia, quantaque animi vis fuiſſet in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam fere, quem quiſque vivus pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amiſſa anima, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors prætoria diſjecerat, paullo diverſius, ſed omnes tamen adverſis vulneribus, conſiderant. Catilina vero longe a ſuis inter hoſtium cadavera repertus eſt, paullulum etiam ſpirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens. Poſtremo, ex omni copia, neque in prælio, neque in fuga, quiſquam civis ingenuus captus eſt. Ita cuncti ſuæ hoſtiumque vitæ juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Ro-

with great obſtinacy, brings up the general's own ſelect battalion upon their main body, by which he broke them; and tho' they rallied again, and faced about upon him here and there, yet he made vaſt ſlaughter of them. After which he attacks the reſt in each flank. Manlius and the Fæſulan were amongſt the firſt that fell. Catiline ſeeing his forces routed, and himſelf left with a ſmall party that ſtood by him, reflecting upon his family, and former dignity, ruſhed in amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy, and was there ſlain, fighting to the laſt.

LXIV. After the battle was ended, you might have ſeen ample tokens of the deſperate courage and ſpirit in the army of Catiline. They were generally found ſlain upon the very ſpot they were poſted in at the beginning of the action. Some few only of the main body, which had been broke by the general's guard, fell ſcattered here and there at a little diſtance, but all with wounds before. But Catiline himſelf was found at a great diſtance from the reſt, amidſt great heaps of the ſlaughtered enemy, not quite dead, and retaining in his looks his wonted fierceneſs: Finally, out of all that number, not ſo much as one man above the quality of a ſlave, was taken, either in the battle, or in the flight; that they ſeemed to have ſpared their own lives, as little as thoſe of the enemy. Nor had the army of the republick much reaſon to rejoice in their victory, as being a very bloody one. For the braveſt

mani

## BELLUM CATILINARIUM. 77

mani lætam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat. Nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in prælio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui e castris vivendi, aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiabant. Fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum lætitia, mœror, luctus, atque gaudia agitabantur.

*among them were all, either slain, or desperately wounded. Many that came out of the camp to view the field of battle, or plunder the slain, in tumbling over the dead bodies, some found a friend, others a relation; and some too light upon their enemies. So that there was throughout the whole army, a strange mixture of mirth and sorrow, mourning and joy.*



C. CRIS-



C. CRISPI SALLUSTII  
JUGURTHA:  
SIVE

Bellum Jugurthinum.

**F**ALSO queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod imbecille atque ævi brevis, forte potius, quam virtute, regatur. Nam contra reputando, neque majus aliud, neque præstabilius invenias; magisque naturæ industriam, hominum, quam vim aut tempus, deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus est; qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde pollens, potensque, & clarus est, neque fortuna eget; quippe quæ probitatem, industriam, aliasque artis bonas neque dare, neque eripere cuiquam potest. Sin captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam & voluptates corporis pessumdatus est, perniciofa lubricine paullisper u-

**M**Ankind complain of their nature without cause, as infirm and short-lived, and more under the direction of chance than virtue. But upon considering the human frame in a different view, you will find nothing in the world more great and excellent; and that men want industry more than abilities, or time. Now the soul is the leader and commander in the life of man, which, whilst it pursues glory in the way of virtue, is abundantly vigorous, able, and glorious, and stands in no need of fortune's help; as who can neither give nor take away from any one probity, industry, or other good qualities. But if the mind, captivated by wicked lusts, sinks into idleness and pleasure, after it has for a while indulged its humour, to the ruin of it's own vigour, and that of the body, besides loss of time, the weakness of human nature is blamed for it; as people of ill conduct  
sus,



## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 79

fus, ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium diffluxere, naturæ infirmitas accusatur. Suam quippe culpam actores ad negotia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multum etiam periculosa, petunt; neque regeantur magis quam regeantur casus; & eo magnitudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloria æterni fierent.

II. Nam uti genus hominum compositum ex corpore & anima est; ita res cunctæ, studiaque omnia nostra, corporis alia, alia animæ naturam sequuntur. Igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, ad hoc, vis corporis, & alia omnia hujuscemodi brevi dilabuntur. At ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremo, corporis & fortunæ bonorum, uti initium, sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt, & aucta senescunt. Animus, incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam ætatem agunt; cæterum, ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in

*are apt to transfer all blame from themselves upon the circumstances of affairs they are engaged in. Now if men were but as much concerned for things truly good, as they are for what are otherwise, and can avail them nothing, nay are really very dangerous, they would not be so much governed by chance, as over-rule it; and arrive at that grandeur, as instead of being mortal, to live for ever in the records of fame.*

II. For as man is made up of two parts, body and soul; so all our concerns and pursuits have a near affinity with the nature of the one, or the other. Thus beauty, riches, and strength, with other things of the like kind, are soon gone; but the noble productions of the mind, are like the mind itself, immortal. Finally, the goods of the body and fortune, as they have a beginning, so have they likewise an end; and all things that rise, set; and such as grow, grow old too. But the soul suffers no decay, is eternal, the guide of man, acts and possesses all things; but is itself out of the power of every thing else. How wonderful is their weakness then, who give themselves up to sensual enjoyments, and spend their lives in luxury and idleness; but suffer their minds, the best and the greatest thing in human nature, to ly fallow, without any cultivation or care at all of it? especially, when there are so many, and such various ways of employ-

( na-

natura mortalium est, in-  
cultu atque socordia tor-  
pescere sinunt; cum præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes  
animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. Verum ex his ma-  
gistratus & imperia, po-  
stremo omnis cura rerum  
publicarum, minime mi-  
hi hac tempestate cupi-  
unda videntur. Quoniam  
neque virtuti honos da-  
tur; neque illi, quibus  
per fraudem jus fuit, tuti,  
aut eo magis honesti sunt.  
Nam, vi quidem regere  
patriam aut parentes,  
quamquam & possis, &  
delicta corrigas; tamen  
importunum est; cum  
præsertim omnes rerum  
mutationes cædem, fu-  
gam, alia hostilia porten-  
dant. Frustra autem niti,  
neque aliud, se fatigan-  
do, nisi odium quærere,  
extremæ dementiæ est;  
nisi forte quem inhonesta  
& perniciofa lubido tenet,  
potentiæ paucorum decus  
atque libertatem suam  
gratificari.

IV. Cæterum ex iis  
negotiis, quæ ingenio ex-  
ercentur, in primis mag-  
no usui est memoria re-  
rum gestarum. Cujus de  
virtute quia multi dixerunt,  
prætereundum puto; si-  
mul, ne per insolentiam  
quis existimet memet  
studium meum laudando  
extollere. Atque ego cre-  
do fore, qui, quia decrevi

ing the mind, whereby a man  
may render his name immortal.

III. But of these several ways,  
offices civil and military, in short,  
all publick places of trust and  
power whatever, seem at this  
time not at all desirable; when  
virtue has no regard paid it; and  
those who by base arts obtain them,  
are not therefore more secure or  
honourable at all. For to govern  
your country or parents in the way  
of violence, tho' you have it in  
your power, and may perhaps rec-  
tify some things that are amiss in  
them, is however very vexatious;  
especially since all revolutions are  
sure to be attended with the mur-  
der and banishment of great  
numbers, and other calamities of  
war. Now for a man to take a  
world of pains to no purpose, and  
to get nothing by all his fatigue,  
but to be hated by the world, is  
meer madness, and what none  
would be guilty of sure, but those  
of a humour base and pernicious  
enough, to sacrifice their honour  
and liberty both to the power of a  
few.

IV. But of all the ways of em-  
ploying a man's parts, that of writ-  
ing history seems to be of singular  
use. But this is so beaten a sub-  
ject, that I shall say nothing of it;  
and the rather, lest any one should  
think I magnified my own employ-  
ment, out of vanity only. And  
as I have determined to decline all  
preferment in the state, I doubt  
there will be some ready to give  
the name of idleness to the useful  
procul

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 81

procul a republica ætatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant; certe, quibus maxuma industria videtur, salutare plebem & conviviis gratiam quaerere. Qui si reputaverint, & quibus ego temporibus magistratum adeptus sim; & quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint; & postea, quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint; profecto existimabunt, me magis merito, quam ignavia, judicium animi mei mutavisse; majusque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicæ venturum. Nam sæpe audiui, Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solutos ita dicere, *Cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi.* Scilicet, non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere; neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contra, quis est omnium, his moribus, quin divitiis & sumptibus, non probitate, neque industria, cum majoribus suis contendat?

*way of life I have chosen; such I mean, who think the greatest industry is shewn in complimenting and treating the mob. Who if they would but consider, in what times I was preferred in the government, and what considerable men miscarried in their endeavours to that purpose, and what sort of men have since got into the Senate, they will certainly think, that I altered my mind upon very good reason, and not from a love of idleness; and that the publick will receive greater advantages from my declining of business, than from others engaging therein. For I have often heard, that Q. Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other persons of great figure in the government, used to say, that when they look'd upon the images of their ancestors, their minds were fired to the last degree with an emulation of their noble behaviour. Now to be sure the wax, or it's figure, had no such efficacy in it; but it was the reflection upon their great actions, which raised that flame in the breasts of those excellent men, and gave them no quiet, 'till they arrived at the same height of reputation and glory with their ancestors. But what person have we, at the times now go, that is not much more concerned to outstrip his forefathers in riches and prodigality, than probity and industry. Nay, gentlemen of low rank, who before used by their good qualities to raise themselves above the nobles, now endeavour to get into places of power and trust, by under-hand*

L

Etiam



Etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim & per latrocinia potius, quam bonis artibus, ad imperia & honores nituntur. Proinde quasi prætura & consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi per se ipsa clara & magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea sustinent, virtus est. Verum ego liberius atque processu, dum me civitatis morum piget tædetque. Nunc ad inceptum redeo.

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha rege Numidarum gessit; primum, quia magnum & atrox, variaque victoria fuit; dein, quia tum primum superbiæ nobilitatis obviam itum est; quæ contentio divina & humana cuncta permiscuit; eoque recordiæ processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiæ finem facerent. Sed prius, quam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam; quo, ad cognoscendum, omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiæ opes maxime attriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui

tricks, and rogueries, more than laudable accomplishments. As if the Prætorship, Consulship, and other the like offices, were in themselves glorious and honourable, and not rendered such only by the good behaviour of those that enjoy them. But I have run out too freely and too far upon this subject, out of pure indignation against the corruption of the times. Now I return to my purpose.

Verum ego liberius atque processu, dum me civitatis morum piget tædetque.

V. Which is to write the history of the war the Roman people had with Jugurtha, King of the Numidians; first, because it was a great and a terrible one, full of various turns of fortune; and secondly too, because then was the first stand made against the insolence of the nobility; which dispute confounded all things, both divine and human; and was carried to that height of madness, that nothing but a war, and the disolation of Italy, could put an end to it. But before I enter upon this subject, I must run back a little, in order to set the whole in a proper light. In the second Punic war, wherein Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, gave the greatest shock of all others to the Roman grandeur, by a terrible devastation of Italy, Masinissa, King of the Numidians, being received into the Roman alliance, by P. Scipio afterwards surnamed Africanus, upon account of his putting a happy conclusion to that war, had distinguished himself by  
postea

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 83

postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa & præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat. Ob quæ, victis Carthaginiensibus, & capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus quascumque urbis & agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissæ bona atque honesta nobis permanlit. Sed imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale & Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis. Is Atherbalem & Hiempsalem ex sese genuit; Jugurthamque filium Mastanabalis fratris, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. Qui, ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare; &, cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse. Ad hoc, pleraque tempora in venando agere; leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire; pluri-

many brave and gallant actions: in consideration of which, after the Carthaginians were conquered, and Syphax taken, who was master of a great and powerful kingdom in Africa, the Roman people made a present of all the cities and territory they had taken, to King Masinissa; for which bounty he was ever after a fast and faithful ally to us, continuing in the enjoyment of his dominions 'till his death. After which, they fell into the hands of his son Micipsa, his two brothers Mastanabal and Gulussa having died some time before. He had two sons Atherbal and Hiempsal; but nevertheless educated in his own court, and in the same manner as his own sons, Jugurtha the son of his brother Mastanabal, whom, as being begot of a concubine, Masinissa had left in the condition of a private person.

VI. This youth, when he came to man's estate, being conspicuous for strength of body, handsomeness of person, and great parts, did not give himself up to luxury and idleness; but, according to the fashion of his country, exercised himself in riding, throwing the lance, and racing; in which exercises, tho' he was much superior to all his fellows, yet he was nevertheless exceedingly and universally beloved by them. Besides, he spent most of his time in hunting. He was sure to be the first, or amongst the foremost, in the encountering of

num facere, & minus ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa, tametsi initio lætus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthæ regno suo gloriæ fore, tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, exacta ætate sua, & parvis liberis, magis magisque crescere intelligit, vehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suoolvebat. Terrebatur eum natura mortaliū, avida imperiī, & præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem; præterea, opportunitas suæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocri viros spe prædæ transvorsos agit; ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque insidiis, opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus, & appetens gloriæ militaris, statuit eum obiectare periculis, & eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur bello Numantino Micipsa, cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans vel ostentando

lions, and other wild beasts; and tho' he did the most, yet he said the least of himself. With which things, tho' Micipsa was at first well pleased, as looking upon the gallant behaviour of Jugurtha as redounding to the honour of his kingdom; yet finding the young man grow more and more in fame, his days being now near an end, and his children but small, he was very much affected, and full of perplexity about him. The nature of man greedy of power, and disposed at any rate to gratify that passion, alarmed him; but especially the opportunity which his own age, and that of his children, gave him; a temptation that is apt to lead men, otherwise not ambitious, astray. But what terrified him most of all, was, the vast fondness the Numidians had for Jugurtha, insomuch that he feared, if he made him away privately, it might occasion a general mutiny, if not a war.

VII. Perplexed with these difficulties, and finding it impracticable to take him off, either by open force, or secret contrivance, considering how popular he was, he resolved to try how favourable fortune might prove to him in another way, that is, by exposing him to dangers. For he was active in fight, and vastly fond of military glory. Wherefore Micipsa being to send some troops of both horse and foot, to the assistance of the Roman people in the war against Numantia, hoping that his desire of distinction, or

virtu-



virtutem, vel hostium  
sævitia facile eum occa-  
surum, præfecit Numidis  
quos in Hispaniam mit-  
tebat. Sed ea res lon-  
ge aliter, ac ratus erat,  
evenit. Nam Jugurtha,  
ut erat impigro atque a-  
cri ingenio, ubi naturam  
P. Scipionis, qui tum  
Romanis imperator erat,  
& morem hostium cog-  
novit, multo labore, mul-  
taque cura, præterea mo-  
destissime parendo, & sæ-  
pe obviam eundo pericu-  
lis, in tantam claritudi-  
nem brevi pervenerat, uti  
nostris vehementer carus,  
Numantinis maximo  
terrori esset. Ac sane,  
quod difficillimum in  
primis est, & prælio stre-  
nuus erat, & bonus con-  
silio. Quorum alterum  
ex providentia timorem,  
alterum ex audacia teme-  
ritatem adferre plerum-  
que solet. Igitur impera-  
tor omnis fere res asperas  
per Jugurtham agere, in  
amicis habere, magis ma-  
gisque eum indies am-  
plecti; quippe cujus ne-  
que consilium, neque in-  
ceptum ullum frustra erat.  
Huc accedebat munificentia  
animi & ingenii sollertia.  
Quibus rebus sibi multos ex Ro-  
manis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Ea tempestate  
in exercitu nostro fuere  
complures novi atque  
nobiles, quibus divitiæ  
bono honestoque potiores  
erant, factiosi, domi po-

*the fury of the enemy might prove  
fatal to him, he made him com-  
mander of the forces he sent into  
Spain. But that matter ended  
quite otherwise than he expected.  
For Jugurtha, as he was of an  
active enterprising genius, upon  
observing the nature of P. Scipio,  
and the enemy's way of managing,  
did, by the utmost pains and dili-  
gence in action, as also by a most  
submissive obedience to all orders,  
and frequently exposing his person  
to dangers, in a little time become  
so very famous, that he was ex-  
ceedingly beloved by our men, and  
was very terrible to the Numan-  
tines. And what is very difficult  
indeed, he was brave in action,  
and wise in council. One of which  
qualities, from a foresight of dan-  
ger, is apt to cause fear, and the  
other rashness. Accordingly the  
general executed all desperate pro-  
jects by the means of Jugurtha,  
received him into the number of  
his friends, and grew every day  
more fond of him, as a man whose  
advice and undertakings never fail-  
ed of success; to which were add-  
ed a great generosity of mind, and  
huge dexterity of parts; by which  
qualities he procured himself an  
intimate friendship with many of  
the Romans.*

VIII. *There were at that time  
in our army, a great many, both  
of high and low rank, who pre-  
ferred riches before virtue and ho-  
nour, mighty party-men, and of  
great interest in their several coun-  
tentes,*

tentes, apud socios clari magis quam honesti; qui Jugurthæ non medio-crem animum pollicitando accendebant, si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore uti solus imperio Numidiæ potiretur. In ipso maxumam virtutem, Romæ omnia venalia esse. Sed postquam, Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, & ipse revorti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium adduxit; ibique secreto monuit, uti potius publice, quam privatim, amicitiam populi Romani coleret; neu quibus largiri insuesceret. Periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum essent. Si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi & gloriam & regnum venturum. Sin properantius pergeret, ipsum pecunia præcipitem casurum.

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris eum, quas Micipsæ redderet, dimisit; earum sententia hæc erat. *Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit. Quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est. Ut idem S. P. Q. R. fit, summa ope nitimur. Tibi quidem pro-*

*tries; better known than esteemed amongst our allies. who inflamed the ambitious soul of Jugurtha by offers of their service, telling him, That when Micipsa dropp'd, he might easily secure the kingdom of Numidia to himself alone. He was a person of great abilities, and all things were to be sold at Rome. But when, upon the Reduction of Numantia, Scipio had determined to dismiss the auxiliary troops, and return home himself, he did, in the face of the army, present Jugurtha, and applaud him in terms of the highest approbation; but afterwards taking him into his tent, he secretly advised him, to cultivate a friendship with the Roman people, by paying his court to the government, rather than private persons, and to avoid bribery; since it would be hazardous to purchase that of a few, which belonged to many. If he would but continue steady in the exercise of his own good qualities, glory and a kingdom too would drop in to him of themselves; but if he was too hasty, his money would be the ruin of him.*

IX. *After this advice, he dismissed him with a letter for Micipsa, to the following purpose, Your Jugurtha has behaved incomparably well in the war of Numantia; which, I am sure, must be matter of no small joy to you. We have, and very deservedly, the highest respect for him; and will endeavour to procure him the same from the Senate and people of Rome. In re-*  
nostra-

*nostra amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa. Igitur rex, ubi ea, quæ fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute, tum gratia viri permotus, flexit animum suum; & Jugurtham beneficiis vincere aggressus est. Statimque eum adoptavit, & testamento pariter cum filiis hæredem instituit. Sed ipse, paucos post annos, morbo atque ætate confectus, cum sibi finem vitæ adesse intelligeret, coram amicis & cognatis, itemque Atherbale & Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujusmodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.*

*X. Parvum ego te, Jugurtha, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi; existumans non minus me tibi, quam si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore. Neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam, ut alia magna & egregia tua o-mittam, novissime rediens Numantia, meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti; tuæque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti. In Hispania nomen familiæ renovatum est. Postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortales est*

*gard to the friendship betwixt us, I congratulate you upon this occasion. Herewith I return you a man, worthy of you, and his grandfather Masinissa. The King finding what common fame had before informed him of, confirmed by this letter of the general, moved as well by the fine accomplishments of the man, as his interest with the Romans, resolved to be easy with him, and endeavour to conquer him by kindness. Accordingly he immediately adopted him, and by a will made him joint-heir with his sons. In a few years after, being worn out with infirmities and old age together, and finding himself a dying man, he is said in the presence of his friends and relations, his two sons Atherbal and Hiempsal too being by, to have addressed himself to Jugurtha, in the words following.*

*X. I did, my dear Jugurtha, receive you into my court, left a little one by your father, without hopes or fortune, promising myself, that you would be mindful of the favour, and love me no less than my own children, if I should have any; nor was I deceived in that matter. For to say nothing of other great and noble actions of yours, at your return from Numantia, you did me and my kingdom the utmost honour, by your excellent behaviour improved to the highest pitch the friendship that before subsisted betwixt the Romans and us; and revived afresh the name of our family in Spain; and finally, what is the most difficult thing in the world,*  
*gloria*



*gloria invidiam viciſti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitæ facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem, moneo obteſtorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres ſunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quam ſanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus, neque theſauri, præſidia regni ſunt, verum amici; quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas. Officio & fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? Aut quem alienum fidum, invenies, ſi tuis hoſtis fueris? Equidem ego regnum vobis trado firmum, ſi boni eritis; ſi mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia res parvæ creſcunt, diſcordia maxumæ dilabuntur. Cæterum, ante hos, te, Jugurthæ, qui ætate & ſapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam in omni certamine, qui opulentior eſt, etiamſi accipit injuriam, tamen, quia plus poteſt, facere videtur. Vos autem Atherbal & Hiempſal, colite, obſervate talem hunc virum; imitamini virtutem, & enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos ſumpſiſſe videar, quam genuiſſe.*

you overcame envy itſelf by your glory. Now, ſince nature is juſt putting an end to my life, I beſeech you by this right hand, by the honour of a king too, I entreat and beg of you, to love my children, your relations, and brothers by adoption; and that you would not transfer your affection to ſtrangers, rather than keep it fix'd upon thoſe who are united to you by blood. Armies and treaſures are not the ſecurity of kingdoms, ſo much as friends, whom you can neither force to be ſuch by arms, nor purchaſe with gold. They are only procured by good offices and fidelity. Who ſhould be more a friend, than one brother to another? Or what ſtranger will you find faithful to you, if you are an enemy to your own relations? I deliver up to you a kingdom, ſtrong indeed, if you are good to one another, but weak, if you are wicked. For ſmall ſtates grow great by unanimity, whiſt great ones come to nothing by diſcord. But it behoves you, Jugurthæ, more than they, you who are both older and wiſer than they, to take care and guard againſt any miſconduct in this affair. For in all conteſts, the more opulent party, tho' he really receive wrong, yet becauſe he is the more powerful, is thought to do wrong. But do you, Atherbal and Hiempſal, reſpect and reverence this worthy man, imitate his noble behaviour, and do your utmoſt, that the world may not think, I have adopted a ſon preferable to thoſe nature beſtowed upon me.

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 89.

XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regum ficta locutum intelligebat, & ipse longe aliter animo agibat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. Postquam illi more regio<sup>a</sup> justa magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenere, ut inter se de negotiis cunctis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus ex illis erat, natura ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthæ, quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextra Atherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, ut ætati concederet, fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio differerent, Jugurtha inter alias res jactat, *Oportere quinquennii consulta & decreta omnia rescindi; nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse. Tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi respondit; nam ipsum illum tribus his proxumis annis adoptione in regnum pervenisse. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthæ altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit.*

XI. *To this Jugurtha made a very complaisant reply, suitable to the occasion, tho' he was sensible the King was far from being sincere in what he said, and he himself was as far from designing what he declared for. Micipsa died a few days after. As soon as the funeral solemnity, which was very magnificent, was over, the three princes met together, in order to confer about the settlement of their affairs. But Hiempsal, the youngest of them, being naturally high-spirited, who had before slighted Jugurtha for the meanness of his birth—by the mother's side, placed himself on the right hand of Atherbal, to prevent Jugurtha's sitting himself in the middle betwixt him and his brother, which amongst the Numidians is reckoned the most honourable position. And it was with much ado he was prevailed upon by the importunity of his brother, to pay a deference to the age of Jugurtha, by seating himself on the other side. After a great deal of discourse upon a method of proceeding in the administration of their kingdom, Jugurtha, amongst other things, proposes a repeal of all the resolutions and appointments of the five years foregoing, by reason Micipsa was at that time but in a doating condition. Hiempsal said, he was of the same mind; for his adoption had happened within that time, to wit, about three years before. Which saying sunk deeper into the mind of Jugurtha, than any one imagined. Therefore from that day forward, being perplexed*

M

Itaque

Itaque, ex eo tempore ira & metu anxius, moliri, parare, atque ea modo in animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quæ ubi tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox; statuit quovis modo incœptum perficere.

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros, finisque imperii singulis constitui, Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris, alius alio concessere. Sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida forte ejus domo utebatur, qui proximus lictor Jugurthæ, carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat. Quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat impellitque, uti tamquam suam domum visens eat, portarum claves adulterinas paret; nam veræ ad Hiempsalem referebantur. Cæterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna venturum manu. Numida mandata brevi conficit; atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit. Qui, postquam in ædes irrupe-

betwixt anger and fear, he used his utmost endeavours, all the art and contrivance in his power, privately to make away with Hiempsal. But finding he could not, in that way of proceeding, gain his purpose so soon as he desired, and his enraged soul being not to be pacified, he resolves at any rate to execute his design of murdering him.

XII. In the first meeting which, we have above said, the princes had, they could not agree; and therefore resolved to divide the treasure and the kingdom too; and a time was accordingly fix'd for both; but first for the partition of the money. In the mean time, the princes had withdrawn separately into lodgings not far from the place where the money lay; particularly Hiempsal into the town of Thirmida, to the house of one that had been prime serjeant to Jugurtha, and ever highly in his favour and confidence. Now fortune presenting him with so fine an opportunity, he loads the fellow with promises, and prevails with him to go under pretence of visiting his house, and provide false keys of the doors; for the true ones were always a nights carried up to Hiempsal in his bed-chamber; and when all was ready, he told him, he would be sure to come with a considerable force. The Numidian quickly executed his orders, and as instructed, let in Jugurtha's soldiers by night. After they were got in, they run some one way, and some another, in quest of the King. Some they killed asleep; and others standing



re, diversi regem quære-  
re; dormientis alios, alios  
occursantis interficere;  
scrutari loca abdita; clau-  
sa effringere; strepitu &  
tumultu omnia miscere.  
Cum interim Hiempsal  
reperitur, occultans se  
tugurio mulieris ancillæ,  
quo initio pavidus & ig-  
narus loci profugerat.  
Numidæ caput ejus, uti  
jussi erant, ad Jugurtham  
referunt.

XIII. Cæterum fama  
tanti facinoris per omnem  
Africam brevi divulga-  
tur. Atherbalem, om-  
nisque, qui sub Micipsæ  
imperio fuerant, metus  
invadit. In duas partis  
discedunt Numidæ; plu-  
res Atherbalem sequun-  
tur, sed illum alterum  
bello meliores. Igitur Ju-  
gurtha, quam maxumas  
potest, copias armat.  
Urbis partim vi, alias vo-  
luntate imperio suo ad-  
jungit. Omni Numidiæ  
imperare parat. Ather-  
bal, tametsi Romam le-  
gatos miserat, qui sena-  
tum docerent de cæde  
fratris & fortunis suis,  
tamen fretus multitudine  
militum, parabat armis  
contendere. Sed, ubi res  
ad certamen venit, victus  
ex prælio profugit in pro-  
vinciam, ac dehinc Ro-  
mam contendit. Tum Ju-  
gurtha, patris consiliis,  
postquam omni Numidia

upon their defence; searched all  
the private places about the house,  
and broke open such as were lock-  
ed, and fill'd every part with noise  
and confusion. Whilst in the mean  
time, Hiempsal was found hiding  
himself in the poor lodging of a  
maid-servant; whither, upon the  
first alarm, he ran in a fright,  
being not as yet very well acquaint-  
ed with the house. The Numidi-  
ans, according to their orders, car-  
ry his head to Jugurtha.

XIII. The fame of this villa-  
ny was soon spread all Africa over,  
and struck a mighty terror into A-  
therbal, and all that had been sub-  
jects of Micipsa. The Numidians  
were divided upon it into two par-  
ties; the majority sided with A-  
therbal, but the most warlike with  
Jugurtha; who raising as great  
an army as he could, reduces sever-  
al cities, some by force, and others  
by persuasion, under his subjec-  
tion; and, in short, aims at nothing  
less than being master of all Nu-  
midia. Atherbal, tho' he had dis-  
patched ambassadors to Rome, to  
inform the Senate of the murder  
of his brother, and his own condi-  
tion; yet depending upon the num-  
ber of his troops, resolved to give  
his enemy battle. But being de-  
feated therein, he made his escape  
into the Roman province, and from  
thence went to Rome. Jugurtha,  
after he had thus finished his work,  
and was now become master of all  
Numidia, considering the matter  
coolly by himself, dreaded the Ro-  
man people, and could find no se-  
curity against their resentment,

potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque adversus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis, & pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque, paucis diebus, cum auro argentoque multo legatos Romanam mittit; quibus præcipit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus expleant; dein novos acquirant; postremo, quemcunque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venere, & ex præcepto regis, hospitibus, aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere; tanta commutatio incessit, ut ex maxuma invidia in gratiam & favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; quorum pars spe, alii præmio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo, nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur, ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus utrique datur. Atherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. *P. C. Micipsa*  
*pater meus moriens mihi*  
*præcepit, uti regni Numidiae tantummodo procuratorem existumarem meam; cæterum jus & imperium penes vos esse; simul eniterer domi militæque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano; vos*

*but in the avarice of the nobility, and his money. Wherefore in a few days time, he dispatches away ambassadors to Rome with great store of silver and gold, and orders them in the first place to glut all his old friends with presents, and then to procure him new ones; in short, to stick at nothing, but bribe all before them. As soon as the gentlemen came to Rome, and, according to the King's instructions, distributed large presents to the persons by whom they were entertained, and others, leading men at that time in the Senate, such a wonderful change ensued upon it, that Jugurtha, instead of being under a terrible odium, was mightily in the good graces of all the nobility; some of which tempted by hopes, and others by actual bribes, made a strong interest in the house, to prevent any severe resolution against him. Wherefore, as soon as the ambassadors thought they had made all safe, they and Atherbal had an audience given them by the Senate. Upon which occasion Atherbal, it's said, spoke to the following effect.*

XIV. Venerable Fathers, Micipsa my father at his death, gave me a charge, to look upon the administration of the kingdom of Numidia only as mine, but the right and sovereignty to be in you; and at the same time to be as serviceable to the Roman people as possible, both in peace, and in war; and regard you as my relation  
*mibi*

*mibi cognatorum, vos in locum ad finem ducerem; si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. Quæ præcepta patris mei cum agitarẽ, Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vestro, Masinissæ me nepotem, etiam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, P. C. quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem, potius ob mea, quam ob majorum meorum beneficia, posse me a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxime deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano, quibus non ogerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est; neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos confugi, P. C. quibus, quod mihi miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri, quam usui, esse. Cæteri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram appetiverunt.*

XV. Familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore

tions and kindsmen; telling me, if I did so, I should be sure to find forces, riches, and a security to my kingdom, in your friendship. And whilst I was proposing to put these orders of my father in execution, Jugurtha, the wickedest wretch alive, in contempt of your high authority, stripp'd me the grandson of Masinissa, and born an ally and friend of the Roman people, of my kingdom, and every thing else in the world. And since I was, most illustrious Fathers, to be reduced to so miserable a condition, I could wish I might have had the advantage, however, to implore your assistance for my own personal services, rather than those of my forefathers; but above all, that I might have a debt of kindnesses due to me from the Roman people, that I might never have occasion for; or if I had, might only make use of such as were due to me. But because integrity alone is no sufficient security, nor was it in my power to direct the conduct of Jugurtha, I have fled to you, worthy fathers, for protection; to whom, to my unspeakable sorrow, I am obliged to be burdensome, before I could be of any service. Other Kings have been either first conquered in war, and then graciously received into your alliance, or else have in distress solicited for the same.

XV. Our family first contracted an alliance with the Roman people, in a war of theirs against the Carthaginians, at a time when  
*magis*



*magis fides ejus, quam fortuna, pendenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, P. C. nolite pati me nepotem Masinissæ frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil causæ haberem, præter miserandam fortunam; quod paulo ante rex genere, fama, atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes expecto; tamen erat majestatis populi Romani prohibere injuriam, neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego iis finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit; unde pater & avus meus una vobiscum expulare Syphacem & Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, P. C. vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere, uti quem tu parem cum liberis tuis, regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuæ extinctor sit? Numquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? Semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia sæva patiebamur. Hostis ab latere; vos amici procul; spes omnis in armis*

their honour was more to be regarded, than their fortune. Suffer me not, mighty Fathers, a descendant of that family, the grandson of Masinissa, to implore your assistance in vain. If I had no other pretensions for procuring the same, besides the misery of my circumstances, that I, who was but lately a prince considerable for my extraction, fame, and forces, am now reduced to the lowest state of misery, poverty, and dependance; yet would it highly become the majesty of the Roman people to vouchsafe me their protection, and not suffer any prince to grow great by the practice of villainy. But I have been forced out of a country, which the Roman people bestowed upon my ancestors; from whence my father and grandfather, in conjunction with you, drove Syphax and the Carthaginians. The favours you conferred upon my family have been taken from me, noble fathers; you have been despitefully treated in the injustice done to me. Alas, wretch that I am! Is all your kindness, my dear father Micipsa, come to this, that the man you had made equal to your own sons, and joynt-heir of your kingdom with them, should, above all others, be the ruin of your issue? Must our family then never be at rest? Must we be ever in blood, war, or banishment? Whilst the Carthaginians flourished, we might well suffer every thing that was dismal. Our enemies were our next neighbours, and you our friends far off. All our hopes were

*erat,*

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 95

erat. Postquam illa pestis ex Africa ejecta est, læti pacem agitabamus; quippe, quæ hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem vos iussissetis. Ecce autem ex improvviso Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese effrens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo intersecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui prædā fecit; post, ubi me iisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus, quam vim aut bellum, expectantem, in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo; inopem, coopertum miseris, effecit, ut ubivis tutius, quam in meo regno, essem.

XVI. Ego sic existimabam, Patres Conscripti, uti prædicantem audiveram patrem meum; qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, cæterum ex omnibus maxime tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, præstitit; uti in omnibus bellis adesset vobis; nos uti per otium tuti simus, in manu vestra est, Patres Conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium Jugurtham beneficiis suis ratus est nobis conjunctum fore. Alter eorum necatus; alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid a-

in our arms. But when Africa was delivered from that pestilent people, we enjoy'd all the delights of peace, as having no enemy, unless such as you had appointed us. When behold, unexpectedly, Jugurtha erecting his plumes with intolerable impudence, wickedness, and pride; and murdering my brother, his near relation, made his kingdom the first prize of his villainy; and then not finding it practicable to take me off by the like wicked contrivance, whilst I expected nothing at all of violence or war, has, in the face of your mighty power, driven me, as you see, from my country, from my home, in want of every thing, and under the heaviest load of misery, and yet more secure any where, than in my own kingdom.

XVI. I really thought, O venerable Fathers, as I had heard my father often say, that such as took care to cultivate a friendship with you, must do it at the expence of much labour and pains, but were of all mankind the most secure. All that was in the power of our family to do, it did, that is, it assisted you in all your wars; it is in your power to make us a return of peace and security, mighty Fathers. My father left behind him us two brothers, and thought he should make Jugurtha a third brother to us, by the favours he heaped upon him. One of the three is already murdered, and I had much ado to escape the wicked hands of the other. What shall I do? Or whither shall I, unhappy man, apply myself? All  
gam?

gam? Aut quo potissimum infelix accedam? Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt; pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit; fratri, quem minime decuit, propinquus per scelus vitam eripuit; adfinis, amicos, propinquos ceteros meos, alium alia clades oppressit; capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti, pars bestiiis obiecti sunt; pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris cum mœrore & luctu, morte graviores vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quæ aut amisi, aut ex necessariis adversa facta sunt, incolumia manerent; tamen, si quid ex improviso mali accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres Conscripti; quibus pro magnitudine imperii, jus & injurias omnis curæ esse decet. Nunc vero exsul patria, domo, solus, atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quos accedam, aut quos appellem? Nationesne an reges, qui omnes familiae nostræ ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? An quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint? An quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit?

the security to be had from my own family is gone. My father yielded, as necessity required, to the order of nature. My brother was villainously robbed of his life, by a relation, who of all men should have been the furthest from such a crime. My friends and relations, whether by blood or marriage, have been all ruined, some one way, some another. Being taken prisoners, part of them have been crucified, whilst others have been thrown to wild beasts. A few whose lives were spared, have been clapt up in dungeons, and lead a life in sorrow and mourning, worse than death. If I was in full possession of all I have lost, and my relations and friends were none of them my enemies, or unfortunate; yet in case of a sudden calamity surprizing me, I should, mighty Fathers, apply to you for deliverance, whom, by reason of your vast dominion, it highly becomes to see right and justice done throughout the world. But now whither shall I go, or to whom shall I apply, banished as I am, from my country, my home, left alone, and in want of every the least decent accommodation of life? Shall I apply to foreign nations or princes, who are all mortal enemies to our family, upon account of our alliance with you? Or can I go any whither, where there are not very many monuments of the valour of my ancestors, employed against the country in your favour? Or can any one have compassion on me, who was ever an enemy to you?



## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 97

XVII. *Postremo, Masinissa nos ita instituit, P. C. ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum; ne societates, ne fœdera nova acciperemus; abunde magna præsidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore; si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una occidendum nobis esse. Virtute ac diis volentibus, magni estis & opulenti; omnia secunda & obedientia sunt; quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthæ, parum cognita, transvorsos agat; quos ego audio maxuma opem niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognita causa, statuatis; fingere me verba, & fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miseras projectus sum, eadem hæc simulantem videam; & aliquando, aut apud vos, aut apud Deos immortalis, rerum humanarum cura oriatur; ut ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus est, omnibus malis excruciat, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum gravis pœnas reddat. Jam jam frater animo meo carissu-*

XVII. Finally, worthy fathers, Masinissa's instruction to our family ever was, to make no court to any but the Roman people, to engage in no alliances or treaties with any other power whatever; alledging, that we should find abundant security in your friendship alone; but that if fortune should turn upon the Roman power to its destruction, we must then of necessity perish with it. By your own good conduct, and the favour of the Gods, you are great and mighty; success and submission attend you throughout the world, whereby you are enabled to redress with ease the injuries of your allies. All that I fear in the case is, lest the friendship of Jugurtha with particular members of this state, to whom he is not sufficiently known, should misguide them in their conduct upon this occasion; who, I am informed, are using their utmost endeavours, soliciting and importuning you by a very particular application, not to proceed to any resolution against him, as he is not here himself, without a full hearing of his cause. 'Tis said, that what I alledge, is pretence only; as if I had not been forced to fly my kingdom, but might have continued in it, if I would. Heavens grant I could but see the man, by whose impious violence I have been plunged into my present misery, dissembling as I do; and that at last either you, or the immortal Gods, would take the affairs of mankind under your care. Then would the wretch, who now prides and triumphs in

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*me, quamquam tibi immaturo, & unde minime decuit, vita erepta est, tamen lætandum magis, quam dolendum, puto casum tuum. Non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem, & has omnis, quæ me premunt, ærumnas, cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus, pulsus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo; incertus quid agam, tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens; an regno consulam, cujus vitæ ne eisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori, fortunis meis honestus exitus esset; ne vivere contemptus viderer, si defessus malis injuriæ concessissem. Nunc, neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. P. C. per vos, per liberos atque parentes vestros, per majestatem populi Romani, subvenite misero mihi; ite obviam injuriæ; nolite pati regnum Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, per scelus & sanguinem familiæ nostræ tabescere.*

I have suffered. Now I have no inclination to life, and yet I cannot die with honour. Now I beg of you, mighty Fathers, for the sake of yourselves, your children and parents, and the majesty of the Roman people, relieve a poor wretch, curb the violence of Jugurtha, and suffer not the kingdom of Numidia, which is yours, to come to nothing, by villainy, and the murder of our family.

his villainy, by all imaginable misery, suffer the vengeance due to him, for his wicked disregard to the memory of our father; the murder of my brother, and reducing me to the woful condition I am now in. Now, now, O my dear, dear brother, tho' you were cut down in the prime of your days, and by a hand of all others that should least have been guilty of such a fact; yet I cannot but think I have reason rather to rejoyce at, than lament, your fall. For you did not so much lose your kingdom with your life, as you escaped the wretched necessity of flight, banishment, want, and all that weight of woe, which lies so heavy upon me. But I, poor wretch, thrown headlong from the height of my father's kingdom into the lowest depths of misery, am a notorious instance of the uncertainty of human affairs, not knowing what to do; whether to prosecute the revenge of the wrongs done to you, helpless as I am, or endeavour only the recovery of my kingdom, whilst the disposal of me, with respect to life or death, is entirely in the power of others. I could wish death might put a decent end to my life, to avoid the despicable appearance I must make; if tired out by my misfortunes, I must be obliged to be quiet under the injustice

# BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 99

XVIII. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ, largitione magis, quam causâ, freti, paucis respondent; *Hiempsalem, ob sævitiam suam, ab Numidis interfectum; Atherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequisset; Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se alium putarent, ac Numantiæ cognitus esset; neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent.* Deinde utrique Curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur. Fautores legatorum, præterea magna pars gratia depravata, Atherbalis dicta contemnere; Jugurthæ virtutem laudibus extollere; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere & flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum & æquum divitiis carius erat, subveniendum Atherbali, & Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant. Sed ex omnibus maxime Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum; cæterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is, postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentem-

XVIII. *After the King had made an end of his speech, the deputies of Jugurtha, depending more upon the bribes they had given, than their cause, made a short reply. That Hiempsal had been murdered by the Numidians, because of his cruelty; that Atherbal had been the aggressor in the late war, and because he had been baffled therein, and could not do Jugurtha the mischief he intended, he now complained. That Jugurtha begged of the Senate, they would not take him to be any other man, than what he had been known to be at Numantia, or shew more regard to the words of his enemy, than to his actions. Upon this, both parties quit the house, and the Senate immediately went upon the affair. The favourers of the ambassadors, and a great party beside, made by the influence of their friends amongst the former, slighted what was said by Atherbal, highly extolled the conduct of Jugurtha, and by their interest, speaking, and, in short, all manner of means, struggled as hard to cover Jugurtha's wickedness, and infamous crimes, as if their own honour was at stake. On the other hand, a small party that regarded justice and equity more than money, advised to relieve Atherbal, and revenge severely the death of Hiempsal. The most eminent amongst these was Æmilius Scaurus, a person of noble descent, active, factious, greedy of power, honour, and riches; but cunningly concealing his vices. He finding that the bribery carri-*  
N 2 que,



que, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubricitate continuit.

XIX. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quæ vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum sit, uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham & Atherbalem dividerent. Cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus, & tum in senatu potens, quia consul, C. Graccho & M. Fulvio interfectis, acerrime vindictam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha, tametsi Romæ in amicis habuerat, tamen accuratissime recepit; dando & pollicendo multa perfecit, uti famæ, fidei, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via aggressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides, quam pecunia, fuit. In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauritaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur. Illam alteram, specie, quam usu, potiore, quæ portuosior & ædificiis magis exornata erat, Atherbal possedit. Res postulare

ed on by the King was notorious and barefaced, fearing, as it usually happens in such a case, lest the vast licence taken in that matter should inflame the general odium against the parties guilty, had laid a restraint upon his vicious inclination.

XIX. However, the party that preferred money or favour before the truth, prevailed in the Senate; and a vote passed for the appointment of ten commissioners, to divide the kingdom which Micipsa had had, betwixt Jugurtha and Atherbal. The first commissioner was L. Opimius, a person of great figure, and of vast weight at that time in the house; because, when he was Consul, he had taken off C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius, and after that success, had furiously executed the vengeance of the nobility upon the commons. And tho' he had been one of Jugurtha's friends at Rome, yet, upon his arrival in Africa, he received him with huge ceremony; and by giving him money, and promising more, he so far wrought upon him, that he preferred the King's interest before his own credit, honour, and in short, every thing else. Jugurtha went to work in the same manner with the rest of the commissioners, and corrupted most of them. A few of them valued their honour more than money. In the division of the kingdom, that part of Numidia, which borders upon Mauritania, and is much the more considerable for goodness of soil, and number of people, was assigned to Jugurtha. Atherbal had the other, preferable in appearance, but not reality, as having more vide-

videtur Africæ situm paucis exponere; & eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere. Sed quæ loca & nationes, ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines, minus frequentata sunt, de iis haud facile compertum narraverim, cætera quam paucissimis absolvam.

XX. In divisione orbis terræ plerique in parte tertia Africam posuere; pauci tantummodo Asiam & Europam esse; sed Africam in Europa. Ea finis habet, ab occidente fretum nostri maris & Oceani; ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ appellant. Mare sævum, importuosum. Ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infœcundus; cælo terraque penuria aquarum; genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum; plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut a bestiis interiire. Nam morbus haud sæpe quemquam superat. Ad hoc, malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quo modo inter se permixti sint; quamquam ab ea fama, quæ plerosque obtinet,

harbours and fine buildings in it. And here I judge, it may not be improper to give a short account of the situation of Africa, and of those nations we have had any war or alliance with. But as for those parts and nations, which, because of their excessive heat, their being rocky or desert, are less frequented, I can say little with any certainty; but the rest I shall dispatch with all possible brevity.

XX. In the division of the earth, most authors reckon Africa a third part. Some reckon indeed but two, Asia and Europe; but then they count Africa in Europe. That is bounded on the west by the streight, which makes the communication betwixt our sea and the ocean, on the east by a wide declivity, called by the natives Catabathmos. The sea bordering upon it is boisterous, where there are few or no harbours. The country is fruitful in grain of all kinds, and good for feeding of cattle, but produces very few trees; water is scarce, as well spring-water, as rain. The natives are healthy, swift of foot, and hardy. Most of them die of old age, except such as perish by the sword, or wild beasts. For a disease seldom dispatches them. But then it abounds with noxious creatures. Now, as to the first inhabitants of this country, and those that in succeeding ages settled there, and how they incorporated, I shall give a very brief account, different indeed from the common one, but such as was interpreted to me out of the Carthaginian books, which diver-

diversum est, tamen, ut ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quam paucissimis dicam. Cæterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XXI. Africam initio habuere Gætuli & Libyes, asperi incultique; queis cibus erat caro ferina, atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, aut imperio cujusquam regebantur; vagi, palantes, quas nox coegerat, sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit; exercitus ejus, compositus ex gentibus variis, amisso duce, ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ, & Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupaverunt. Sed Persæ intra Oceanum magis; hique alveos navium inversos protuguriis habuere; quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emundi aut mutandi copia erat. Mare magnum & ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paulatim per connubia Gætulos secum miscuere; & quia, sæpe tentantes agros, alia deinde alia loca petiverant,

were said to be King Hiempsal's, and what the people of that country take to be fact. But let the authors answer for the credibility of it.

XXI. *The original inhabitants of Africa were the Getulians and the Libyans, a rough unpolished people, who lived upon flesh taken in hunting, or upon herbs, like cattle. These were under no manner of confinement from custom, law or government; but strolling about here and there, took up their lodging, where the night happened to overtake them. But after Hercules died in Spain, as the Africans have it, his army that was made up of divers nations, upon the loss of their leader, and the bustle made by a competition for the command, dispersed in a short time. Of that number the Medes, the Persians, and Armenians, passing over by shipping into Africa, seized upon those parts of it, that lay upon our sea. But the Persians lay more upon the ocean. They made use of their ships turn'd bottom upwards for houses; because there was no wood in that country; nor had they any opportunity of buying any, or trucking for it with the Spaniards. A wide sea, and a language to them unknown, render'd all commerce impracticable. By degrees, they by intermarriages mixed with the Getulians; and because they were often shifting about from place to place, to try the goodness of the soil, they called themselves Numidians. To this* semez



semet ipsi Numidas appellavere. Cæterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ *Mapalia* illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ sunt. Medis autem & Armeniis accessere Libyes. Nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant. Gætuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus; hique mature oppida habuere. Nam, freto divisi ab Hispania, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrumpere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit; ac postea Nomo-Numidæ, propter multitudinem, a parentibus digressi, possedere ea loca, quæ proxuma Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Deinde, utrique alteris freti, finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium suum coegere; nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis hi, qui ad nostrum mare processerant; quia Libyes, quam Gætuli, minus bellicosi. Denique Africæ pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est. Victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

XXII. Postea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratia, pars

day the cottages of the Numidians, which they call *Mapalia*, are of an oblong form, with the sides bending out, like the hulls of ships. The Libyans joined the Medes and Armenians, who lived nearer the African sea. The Getulians by more to the sun, not far from the hottest part of the torrid zone. And these quickly built towns. For being divided only by a narrow sea from Spain, they carried on a traffick there. But the Libyans by degrees altered their name, calling them, in their language, Mauri, instead of Medi. But the Persians became, in a short time, a flourishing people. Afterwards too the Nomo-Numidians, by reason of their vast numbers, separating from their parents, possessed themselves of the country about Carthage, which is called Numidia. After that, both parties depending upon their mutual assistance of one another, did by force of arms, or the fear thereof, bring their neighbours under subjection to them, and acquired to themselves a mighty name, and great glory; but especially those who bordered upon our sea; because the Libyans are less warlike than the Getulians. Finally, the lower part of Africa was most of it over-run by the Numidians. And the conquered people mixed with, and went by the name of the conquerors.

XXII. Afterwards the Phœnicians, some to lessen the over-great crowds at home, and others out of impe-

imperii cupidine, sollicita plebe, & aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliasque urbis in ora maritima condidere. Hæque brevi multum auctæ, pars originibus suis præsidio, aliæ decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine filere melius puto, quam parum dicere; quoniam alio prosperare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Ægyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Thereon; ac deinceps duæ Syrtes, interque eas Leptis; deinde Philenon aræ; quem locum Ægyptum versus finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses; post aliæ Punicæ urbes. Cætera loca usque ad Mauritaniæ Numidæ tenent. Proxime Hispaniam Mauri sunt. Super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus, partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare; post eos Æthiops esse; dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida, & finis Carthaginienfium, quos novissimum habuerant, populus Romanus per Magistratus administrabat. Gætulorum magna pars, & Numidæ ad flumen usque Mulucham sub Ju-

a desire of power, engaging many of the commonalty to put themselves under their leading and direction, as well as others that were fond of novelty, built Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptis, and other cities upon the sea-coast. And these growing considerably in a little time, were partly a security, and partly an ornament to their founders. For as to Carthage, I think it better to say nothing at all of it, than but a little, because I am in haste to return to my proper subject. Wherefore by Catabathmos, which place divides Egypt from Africa, down the sea, first occurs Cyrene, a colony of the Thereans. Then follow the two Syrtes, and Leptis betwixt them; then the altars of the Philenians, which were the boundary of the Carthaginian empire to the side of Egypt; after them succeed other Carthaginian cities. The rest of Africa, as far as Mauritania, the Numidians are possessed of. The Moors are next to Spain. The Getulians, we are told, by above Numidia, who part of them live in huts, part wander about, without any settled habitation. Beyond them by the Æthiopians; beyond whom the country is burnt up with excessive heat. In the time of the war against Jugurtha, the Roman people governed most of the Punic towns, as well as the country, that had been under the subjection of the Carthaginians, by magistrates of their own. A great part of the Getulians, and the Numidians as far as the river Mulucha, were under Jugurtha.

gurtha

gurtha erant; Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, præter nomen, cætera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello, neque pace antea cognitus. De Africa & ejus incolis, ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XXIII. Postquam, diviso regno, legati Africa decessere; & Jugurtha, contra timorem animi, præmia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romæ venalia esse; simul & illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Atherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus; at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriæ, metuens magis, quam metuendus. Igitur ex improvviso finis ejus cum magna manu invadit; multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia præda capit; ædificia incendit; pleraque loco hostiliter cum equitatu accedit. Deinde cum omnia multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existumans dolore permotum Atherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli causam fore. At ille, quod ne-

*King Bocchus ruled over all the Moors, a stranger to the Romans, any farther than their name, and not known to us before, either by peace or war. But this may suffice my purpose to say of Africa, and its inhabitants.*

XXIII. *After the Roman commissioners had divided the kingdom, and left Africa; and Jugurtha, contrary to his fears, saw himself rewarded for his villainy; taking it now for a certainty which he had heard from his friends at Numantia, that all things were to be sold at Rome, being likewise pushed on by the promises of those, whom he had but a little before loaded with presents, he resolved to have Atherbal's kingdom from him. He was himself an active, warlike man; but he whom he designed to attack, a quiet, weak, meek-spirited creature, unable to defend himself, and more fearful of others, than to be feared by any. Wherefore Jugurtha invades his country with a great army, takes abundance of men, cattle, and other plunder; fires towns, and over-runs almost all the country with his horse. And when he had done, returned with all his forces into his own kingdom; supposing Atherbal would resent and revenge the abuse, and so a war would ensue upon it. But he not looking upon himself as a match for the other in war, and depending more upon the friendship of the Roman people, than his Numidian subjects, sent deputies to Jugurtha, to complain*



que se parem armis exitumabat, & amicitia populi Romani magis, quam Numidis, fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit; qui, tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum sumere; quia tentatum antea secus cesserat. Neque eo magis cupido Jugurthæ minuebatur; quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum prædatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere cœpit, & aperte totius Numidiæ imperium petere. Cæterum, quæ prædas agere; suis animum,

XXIV. Atherbal, ubi intelligit eo processum, uti regnum aut reliquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat, & Jugurthæ obvius procedit. Interim, haud longe a mari prope Cirtam oppidum, utriusque confedit exercitus; &, quia diei extremum erat, prælium non inceptum. Sed, ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma fumentis fugant funduntque. Atherbal cum paucis equi-

of the injustice done him. And tho' they brought but a rude answer back again, yet he resolved to suffer any thing, rather than engage in a war, having had such ill success in the former. However, Jugurtha's greedy humour was not hereby lessened at all, as having in his own thoughts already devoured his whole kingdom. Wherefore he begun now to make war, not as before, with a band of plunderers only, but with a numerous and a regular army; and now avowedly claimed for himself the kingdom of all Numidia; and where-ever he came, laid waste and plundered both town and country; put life into his own men, and increased more and more the fright the enemy was in.

quæ pergebat, urbis, agros vastare; hostibus terrorem augere.

XXIV. Atherbal finding matters were come to such a pass, that he must either quit his kingdom; or keep it by force of arms, was necessitated to raise troops, and march against Jugurtha. In the mean time, both armies encamped not far from the sea, nigh the town of Cirta; and because the day was almost spent, they did not engage in battle. But when the night was almost over, about twilight, the soldiers of Jugurtha had the signal given them, and made an assault upon the enemy's camp, put to flight and dispersed them, whilst some were half asleep, and others were taking to their arms. Atherbal, with a few horse, made his escape to Cirta; and had there not been a good number of Romans in

tibus

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 107

tibus Cirtam profugit ; & , ni multitudo togatorum fuisset , quæ Numidas insequentis mœnibus prohibuit , uno die inter duos reges cœptum atque patratum foret bellum . Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumfedit ; vineis , turribusque , & machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur ; maxime festinans tempus legatorum antecapere , quos ante prælium factum Romam ab Atherbale missos audiverat . Sed , postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit , tres adolescentes in Africam legantur , qui ambos reges adeant ; S. P. Q. R. verbis nuncient , *velle & censere eos ab armis discedere ; de controversiis suis , jure potius quam bello disceptare : Ita seque illisque dignum esse .*

XXV. Legati Africam maturantes veniunt ; eo magis , quod Romæ , dum proficisci parant , de prælio facto , & oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur . Sed is rumor clemens erat . Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit ; *sibi neque majus quidquam , neque carius auctoritate senati esse ; ab adolescentia sua ita se enisum , ut ab optimo quoque probaretur . Virtute , non malitia , P. Scipioni , summo viro placuisse ; ab eas-*

*town , who repulsed the Numidians , in pursuit of him , from the walls , the war betwixt the two Kings had been begun and ended in one day . Upon this , Jugurtha laid close siege to the town , and endeavours by means of vineæ , towers , and engines of all sorts , to take it ; making all the haste he could to be beforehand with the deputies he heard had been sent to Rome by Atherbale , before the battle . But after the Senate were informed of this war , three young gentlemen were dispatched by them into Africa , with orders to apply to both Kings , and acquaint them , That it was the pleasure of the Senate and people of Rome , they should both be quiet , and decide their disputes in the way of reason , and not of war , as what would be more for the honour of the Romans , and themselves too .*

XXV. *The deputies make all possible haste into Africa , and the rather , because whilst they were preparing for their journey , news arrived in Rome of the battle , and the siege of Cirta ; but such too as lessened very much the odiousness of the facts . Jugurtha , upon hearing the deputies , replied , That he was ready to pay the utmost deference to the authority of the Senate ; he had endeavoured from his youth to behave in such a manner , as to gain the approbation of the best of men , and had recommended himself to the favour of that great man P. Scipio .*

*dem artis a Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum esse. Cæterum, quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare. Atherbalem dolis vitæ suæ insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obvium isse. Populum Romanum neque recte, neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit. Postremo, de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum. Ita utrique digrediuntur. Atherbalis appellandi copia non fuit. Jugurtha, ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa mœnia circumdat; turris extruit, easque præditiis firmat; præterea dies noctisque, aut per vim, aut dolis tentare; defensoribus mœnium præmia modo, modo formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Atherbal ubi intelligit omnis fortunas suas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse; ex iis, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos maxime impigros delegit; eos,*

*pio, by his virtue, not wickedness. He had likewise been adopted by Micipsa, to succeed in his kingdom, for the same good qualities, and not for want of sons. But the better he had behaved, the more he resented any abuse. That Atherbal had form'd a plot against his life, upon the discovery of which, he had endeavoured to prevent him. That the Roman people would not do well, or deal fairly by him, if they debarred him from the common right of nations. Finally, he told them, he would shortly send deputies to Rome about all matters. After this answer, they parted. The Roman deputies could not get into the town to speak to Atherbal. When Jugurtha thought they were departed from Africa, finding it impossible to take Cirta by assault, because of the natural strength of the place, he blocks it up closely on all sides with a rampart and a ditch; builds towers, and fills them with armed men; and besides, makes frequent attempts upon it by day and by night, in the way of open force, or stratagem; plying the besiged one while with promises, and another while with threats; and at the same time animating his own men to do their utmost. In short, he pushed the business with all possible application and eagerness. Atherbal finding himself reduced to the last extremity, his enemy bent upon his destruction, no hopes of assistance, and that the war could not be continued for want of necessaries, chuses from amongst those that had*

*multa*



# BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 109

multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suum, confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent. Numidæ paucis diebus iussa efficiunt. Literæ Atherbalis in senatu recitatæ, quarum sententia hæc fuit.

XXVI. *Non mea culpa sæpe ad vos oratum mitto, P. C. sed vis Jugurthæ subigit; quem tanta lubido me extinguendi invasit, uti neque vos neque deos immortalis in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensum socius & amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor; neque mihi Micipsæ patris mei beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur. Ferro an fame acrius urgear, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere deboratur me fortuna mea. Etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse. Nisi tamen intelligo illum, supra quam ego sum, petere; neque simul amicitiam vestram & regnum meum sperare; utrum gravius existimet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meum; deinde patrio regno me expulit. Quæ sane fuerint nostræ*

*escaped along with him to Cirta, two of the most active; and by large promises, and lamenting his condition, prevails with them to get through the enemies lines in the night-time down to the sea, and from thence to go to Rome. The Numidians execute their orders in a few days. Atherbal's letter was read in the Senate, which was to the following effect.*

XXVI. 'Tis no fault of mine, illustrious Fathers, that I trouble you with such frequent messages; but I am obliged to it by the violence of Jugurtha, who is so madly bent upon my destruction, that he has no regard to you, or the immortal Gods; but had rather have my blood, than all things in the world besides. And therefore I, an ally and friend of the Roman people, have been closely besieged for five months together; whilst neither the services of my father Micipsa, nor your decrees, avail at all to my relief. I am unable to tell you, whether I am more distressed by sword, or by famine. My circumstances discourage me from enlarging in my complaints against Jugurtha. I have found by experience, the unfortunate have but little credit. But however, I am sensible, he has something in view beyond my destruction, and never expects to enjoy your friendship and my kingdom together. Which of the two he is most ambitiously fond of, can be no secret to any body. For he first of all murdered my brother Hiempsal, and then forced me from my father's kingdom. Let those be acts of in-

inju-

*injuriae; nihil ad vos. Verum nunc regnum vestrum armis tenet; me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. Quid est reliquum, nisi vis vestra, qua moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, & hæc quæ scribo, & illa quæ antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eo natus sum, ut Jugurthæ scelerum ostentui essem; non jam mortem neque ærumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium, & cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite; me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissæ.*

XXVII. His litteris recitatis, fuere qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, & quam primum Atherbali subveniendum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam legatis non paruiisset. Sed ab eisdem illis regis fautoribus summa ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut

justice to us, which no ways affect you. Yet now he keeps, by force of arms, a kingdom that is yours, and besieges me, whom you appointed King of the Numidians; then too how much he minded the remonstrances of your deputies, my danger sufficiently shews. What remains therefore to move him, but force on your part? For I could wish, that what I now write, and what I before complained of to you, had nothing of truth in it, rather than that my misery should gain credit to what I say. But since I was born to manifest to the world, in my person, the villainies of Jugurtha, I beg not a delivery from death or misery, but the hands of Jugurtha, and the cruel torture I must expect from him. Dispose of the kingdom of Numidia, which is yours, as you please. But I beseech you by the majesty of your mighty power, and the honour of our alliance, deliver me from those impious hands, if you have any respect for the memory of my grandfather Masinissa.

XXVII. After the reading of this letter, some were for sending an army over into Africa, and relieving Atherbal forthwith; and considering, in the mean while, in what way to proceed against Jugurtha, for slighting their message to him. But this was strenuously opposed by such as had before favoured the cause of Jugurtha. Thus was the publick good, as it commonly falls out, baffled by private interest. However, some el-

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. iii

in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu nobiles, amplis honoribus usi, in quibus fuit M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, & tum senati princeps. Hi, quod in invidia res erat, simul & a Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim adscendere; dein brevi Uticam adpulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, *quam occyffume ad provinciam accedat; se ad eum ab senatu missos.* Ille ubi accepit homines claros quorum auctoritatem Romæ polleere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse; primo commotus metu atque lubricine divorfus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, ni paruisset legatis; porro animus cupidine cæcus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summa vi Cirtam irrumperere nititur; maxime sperans, diducta manu hostium, aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriæ inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius, quam legatos conveniret, Atherbalis potiretur; ne amplius morando Scau-

*derly noblemen, that had run through the great offices of state, are dispatched over into Africa; amongst whom was M. Scaurus mentioned above, a Consular gentleman, and then at the head of the Senate. These gentlemen, as there was a general outcry against Jugurtha's behaviour, and the Numidians vehemently pressed them for dispatch, went aboard a ship in three days time, and arriving soon after at Utica, send a letter to Jugurtha, with orders to repair forthwith to them in the province; for that they had a message to him from the Senate. Upon finding that persons of high rank, and of very great sway at Rome, as he had been informed, were come to oppose his designs, he was much shocked, and distracted betwixt fear and a passionate desire to carry his point against Atherbal. He feared the Senate's resentment, if he did not obey the commissioners; and then again, his mind blinded with ambition, hurried him on to the completion of his wicked enterprize. The worse of the two things proposed to his choice, at last wrought upon his ambitious soul. Wherefore drawing his army quite round the place, he uses his utmost efforts to break into Cirta; being in great hopes, that by thus dividing the force of the enemy, he might hit upon some lucky chance for success, either by force or cunning. But miscarrying in his design of getting Atherbal into his hands, before he attended the commissioners, for fear of provoking Scaurus, whom he much dreaded,*

rum



rum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac tametsi senati verbis minæ graves nunciabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desisteret; multa tamen oratione consumpta, legati frustra discessere.

XXVIII. Ea postquam Cirtæ audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute mœnia defensasabantur, confisi, deditione facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Atherbali suadent, uti seque & oppidum Jugurthæ tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de cæteris senatui curæ fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur, tamen, quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem fecit. Igitur Jugurtha in primis Atherbalem excruciatum necat; dein omnis puberes Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatus obviis fuerat, interfecit.

XXIX. Quod postquam Romæ cognitum est, & res in senatu agitari cœpta; iidem illi ministri regis, interpellando, ac sæpe gratia,

by his delay, he came, attended with a few horse, into the province. And tho' they did, in the name of the Senate, threaten him very severely, for not raising the siege, yet after a deal of wrangle upon the subject, the commissioners departed, without being able to move him in the least.

XXVIII. When the news of this was brought to Cirta, the Italians, by whom the town had been defended, supposing in case of a surrender, that they, upon account of the Roman grandeur, should come to no damage, advise Atherbal to deliver up himself and the town to Jugurtha, articling for life only; since other matters the Senate would take care of. But, tho' he abhorred above all things the thoughts of trusting Jugurtha, yet because it was in their power, if he refused, to force him to a compliance, he did surrender, as the Italians advised him. Whereupon Jugurtha, in the first place, puts Atherbal to death with torture; and then put all the Numidians of age, and the merchants too, that appeared in arms, without distinction, to the sword.

XXIX. As soon as this was known at Rome, and the matter begun to be debated in the Senate, the same pensioners to the King, by obstructing proceedings, and spinning out the business, by their inter-

# BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 113

interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer & infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, id agi, uti per paucos factiosos Jugurthæ scelus condonaretur, profecto omnis invidia, prolatandis consultationibus, dilapsa foret. Tanta vis gratiæ atque pecuniæ regis erat. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet; lege Sempromia provinciæ futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretæ; consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit. Dein exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur; stipendium, aliaque, quæ bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXX. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui, Romæ omnia venire, in animo hæserat, filium & cum eo duos familiaris ad fenatum legatos mittit; iisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, præcipit, omnis mortalis pecunia aggrediantur. Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus est, placeretne legatos Ju-

interest in the members, and wrangling together, endeavoured to lessen the odiousness of the fact. And had not C. Memmius, Tribune of the commons elect, a brisk man, and an avowed enemy to the power of the nobility, informed the Roman people, that the design was to screen Jugurtha from the punishment due to his wickedness, by the means of a few leading men, all the odium of the thing, by the dilatory proceedings of the Senate, would have vanished. Such weight had the King's interest and money together amongst them. But when the Senate, from a sense of their own guilt, begun to be apprehensive of the people's resentment, a bill was preferred to the people, and passed, whereby the provinces appointed for the succeeding Consuls, were Numidia and Italy; P. Scipio Nasica, and L. Bestia Calpurnius, were made Consuls; and Numidia fell to Calpurnius, and Italy to Scipio. Then an army was levied for Africa, money, and other things necessary for the war, voted.

XXX. But Jugurtha, surprised at the news of this, as who had been full of a persuasion, that all things were to be had for money at Rome, dispatches away his son, and two ambassadors with him, to the Senate, and orders them, as he had before done those he sent after the murder of Hiempsal, to bribe all about them, wherever they came. After their arrival at Rome, the Senate was consulted by Bestia, to know their pleasure, Whether the ambassadors of Jugurtha should be admitted into the

*gurthæ recipi mœnibus; nique decrevere, ni regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, ut in diebus proxumis decem Italia decederent.* Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet. Ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quæ deliquisset, munita fore sperabat; in quibus fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura & habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multæ bonæque artes animi & corporis erant; quas omnis avaritia præpediebat. Patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, bellum haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula & insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium, atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectæ. Igitur Calpurnius, initio paratis com meatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est; multosque mortalis & urbis aliquot pugnando cepit.

XXXI. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellicque, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere cœpit; animus æger avaritia facile conversus est. Cæterum socius & administer

city, or no. *And the Senate voted thereupon, That unless they were come to surrender both Jugurtha and his kingdom, they should be gone out of Italy in ten days time. Which, by order of the Senate, the Consul signified to the Numidians; and accordingly they went home, without doing any thing. In the mean time, Calpurnius having raised an army, chafes for his lieutenant-generals, noblemen of the greatest interest; by the authority of whom, he hoped, the crimes he proposed to commit, might pass unpunished. Amongst these was Scaurus, whose character I have given above. For our Consul had many excellent qualities, both of body and mind, the exercise whereof was much obstructed by his covetousness. He was hardy, of shrewd parts, a man of great foresight, and well versed in the business of war, and much upon his guard against all danger and surprize. The legions were led thro' Italy to Rhegium, from thence carried over to Sicily, and from Sicily to Africa. Where Calpurnius providing his army, in the first place, with all necessaries, very briskly enter'd Numidia, took abundance of prisoners, and several cities sword in hand.*

XXXI. But after Jugurtha begun by his messengers to lay the money-bait in his way, and to make him sensible of the difficulty of the war, his mind, over-run with the distemper of covetousness, begun to falter. Scaurus he made his partner and assistant in all his mea-  
omni-



## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 115

omnium confiliorum afumitur Scaurus; qui tametſi a principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrume regem impugnaverat; tamen, magnitudine pecuniæ, a bono honeſtoque in pravam abſtractus eſt. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, exiſtumans ſeſe aliquid interim Romæ pretio aut gratia effecturum. Poſtea vero, quam participem negotii Scaurum accepit, in maxumam ſpem adductus recuperandæ pacis, ſtatuit cum eis de omnibus paſſionibus præſens agere. Cæterum interea fidei cauſa mittitur a conſule Sextius quæſtor in oppidum Jugurthæ Vaccam; cujus rei ſpecies erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam deditiois mora induciæ agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti conſtituerat, in caſtra venit; ac pauca præſenti concilio locutus de invidia facti ſui, atque ut in deditioem acciperetur, reliqua cum Beſtia & Scauro ſecreta tranſigit; dein poſtero die, quaſi per ſaturam ſententiis exquitis, in deditioem accipitur. Sed, uti pro concilio imperatum erat, elephantum xxx. pecus atque

*ſures; who tho' at firſt, when moſt of his party had been corrupted, he had violently oppoſed the King; yet was he at laſt driven, by the dint of hard bribery, from his integrity, to patronize the wickedneſs of Jugurtha; who at firſt purchaſed only a ſuſpenſion of the war, in hopes to carry his point, in the mean time, at Rome, by bribery or intereſt. But when he found Scaurus was engaged in his ſavour, in ſtrong confidence of compaſſing a peace, he reſolved to enter into a perſonal treaty with them, in relation to all concerns whatever. But in the mean time, Sextius the Quæſtor is diſpatched, by way of ſecurity, into a town of Jugurtha, called Vacca, under pretence of receiving corn, which Calpurnius had ordered the deputies to provide for his army; becauſe there was now a truce, in order to Jugurtha's making a ſurrender of himſelf. Wherefore the King, according to his appointment, came into the camp. And after he had ſpoke very briefly, with relation to the odium his late conduct had brought upon him, in the hearing of a council of war, and deſired he might be admitted to an honourable ſurrender, he treated with Beſtia and Scaurus in private about their other affairs; and then the day after, the opinion of the council as to divers particulars, being taken together, and in a hurry, he is admitted to a ſurrender. But, agreeably to what had been enjoined him, in the preſence of the council, thirty elephants, ſome cattle, and abundance of horſes, with*  
P 2 equi

equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere, quæstori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia & exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXXII. Postquam res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actæ forent, fama divulgavit; Romæ per omnis locos & conventus de facto consulis agitari. Apud plebem gravis invidia; patres solliciti erant; probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat. Ac maxime eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor & socius Bestiæ ferebatur, a vero bonoque impediēbat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii, & odio potentiæ nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem & moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari, monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam defererent; multa superba, & crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere; prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam ea tempestate Romæ Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi unam ex tam multis orationem ejus perscribere; ac potissimum ea dicam, quæ in

*a small quantity of silver, are delivered up to the Quæstor. Calpurnius goes to Rome, to preside in the election of new magistrates; whilst all was now quiet in Numidia, and our army.*

XXXII. *When common fame had now divulged the transactions in Africa, with the manner of them, the behaviour of the Consul was the subject of much conversation, in all places and companies at Rome. The commons were hugely incensed at the business; and the Senate in great perplexity. They knew not whether they should ratify so vile a piece of conduct, or make void all that had been resolved on by the Consul. What chiefly diverted them from the pursuit of right and justice in the case, was the power of Scaurus, who was said to have encouraged and supported Bestia in the design. But C. Memmius, concerning whose boldness and spight to the nobility, we have spoke above, during the doubts and delays of the Senate, did, by several harangues, exhort the people to punish the misbehaviour of the Consul, and admonished them not to desert the cause of the publick, and their own liberty. He gave many instances of the insolent and cruel behaviour of the nobility; and did, with the utmost application, endeavour to spirit up the commons against them. And, because at that time he bore a mighty character at Rome for eloquence, I have thought it would not be omifs, to present the reader with one of the many speeches he*  
con-

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 117

coneione, post reditum Bestiæ, hujuscemodi verbis differuit.

XXXIII. *Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium reipublicæ omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum; ac maxime, quod innocentia plus periculi, quam honoris, est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv. quam ludibrio fueritis superbix paucorum; quam fœde, quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores; uti vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia corruptus sit; qui ne nunc quidem obnoxiiis inimicis, exsurgitis; atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus vos decet terrori esse. Sed quamquam hæc talia sunt; tamen obviam ire factionis potentia animus subigit. Certe ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar; verum id frustra, an ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm est, Quirites.*

XXXIV. *Neque ego vos hortor, quod sæpe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus est. Necessè est, suomet ipsi more præ-*

*made on this occasion; that I mean, which he made in an assembly of the people, after the return of Bestia, in the following words.*

XXXIII. Many things would discourage me from applying to you, as I now do, gentlemen, did not a regard for the good of the publick prevail with me above all other considerations. The things I mean, are, the power of the faction of the nobles, your tame submission, and want of authority; and above all, that innocency is now attended with more danger, than honour. For it is really irksome to me to remind you, how insolently you have been treated by some great men for these fifteen years last, and how basely the patrons of your cause were taken off, without the least punishment inflicted upon those that were guilty of it; as also what a mean dastardly spirit you shew, who stir not in your own defence, even now when your enemies are at your mercy; and are afraid of those, to whom you ought to be a terrour. But tho' matters be thus, yet I am determined to make a stand against the power of the faction. I will try at least, the liberty that has been left me by my father; but whether that my endeavour shall be attended with success, or not, must depend entirely upon you, gentlemen.

XXXIV. Yet do I not advise you to what your forefathers often did, that is, to do yourselves justice by force of arms. No, there is no occasion for violence, or leaving the town. They must needs be ruined by their own way  
cips-



*capites eant. Occiso Ti. Graccho, quam regnum parare ajebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones graves habitæ sunt. Post C. Gracchi & M. Fulvii cædem, item ordinis vestri multi mortales in carcere necati sunt. Utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni paratio, plebi jura sua restituere. Quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini ærarium expilari; reges & populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem & summam gloriam, & maximas divitias esse. Tamen hæc talia facinora impune suscepisse, parum habuere; itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina & humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet aut pœnitet; sed incedunt per ora vestra magnifici, sacerdotia, & consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes; perinde quasi ea honorari, non prædæ, habent. Servi ære parati injusta imperia dominorum non perferunt; vos, Quirites, imperio nati, æquo animo servitutem toleratis? At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam ac-*

*of proceeding. After Tiberius Gracchus was slain, whom they charged with a design upon the sovereignty, there was terrible execution done upon the commons of Rome. After the murder of C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius, a great many persons of your rank were put to death in prison. Nor was an end put to those violent proceedings by law; but the humour only of those that were guilty thereof. But let the attempt to restore the commons to their right pass for a design to seize the government. Let whatever cannot be punished without shedding the blood of our fellow-citizens, be warrantably so done. For some years past, tho' you said nothing, yet you were full of indignation, to see the treasury robbed, Kings and free nations pay taxes to a few of the nobility, who lived in the greatest height of glory and plenty. Nor did it suffice them to go unpunished for such strange conduct; and therefore at last your laws, majesty, and all things divine and human, were betrayed into the hands of your enemies. Nor are the persons guilty of this treason, ashamed of, or sorry for it; but strut in the most stately manner before your eyes, priding themselves in their sacred dignities, consulships, and triumphs, as if they valued them only for the honour arising from them, and not for the convenience they thereby had of robbing the publick. Slaves bought with money, refuse to submit to the unreasonable insolence of their masters; and do you, gen-*  
cupa-

*cupavere? Homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissimi, idemque superbissimi; quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quæstui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quæstiones injustas, plerique eadem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita, quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime tutus est. Metum a scelere suo ad ignaviæ vestram transtulere; quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit. Sed hæc inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est.*

hating, and fearing the same things. And this union amongst good men is friendship, but amongst the wicked, faction.

*XXXV. Quod si vos tam libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profecto neque respublica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur; & beneficia vestra penes optimos, non audacissimos, forent. Majores vestri, parandi juris, & majestatis constituendæ gratia, bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere. Vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summa ope nitimini? atque eo vehementius, quo majus dedecus est, parva amittere, quam*

*tlemen, who were born to domination, endure to be enslaved with patience? But who are these that have got the management of affairs into their hands? The most wicked, bloody, avaricious, pernicious, insolent wretches, who carry faith, honour, piety, and, in short, every thing honourable, or otherwise, to market. Some have secured themselves by murdering your Tribunes, others by unjust prosecutions, and others again by the murder of many amongst yourselves. And thus the worse any man behaves himself, the safer he is. And instead of their fearing you, lest you should punish them for their wickedness, you are so base-spirited, as to be afraid of them; who are united amongst themselves by the conformity of their dispositions, as all coveting,*

*XXXV. But if you had only as great a concern for the preservation of your liberty, as they have to acquire a despotick power over you, the publick would not be so wretchedly abused, and your favours would fall upon the best, and not the most audacious, of men. Your forefathers twice left the town in arms, and possessed themselves of the Aventine mount, in order to assert their right, and establish their authority. And will not you exert your utmost endeavours in defence of the liberty you have received from them? and the more so, the more shame it is, to lose what has been once got, than never to have acquired it at*

*omni-*

omnino non paravisse? *Dicet aliquis, quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam, non manu, neque vi (quod magis vos fecisse, quam illis accidisse, indignum est) verum quaestionibus & indicio ipsius Jugurthæ. Qui si dedititius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit; sin ea contemnit; scilicet æstumabitis, qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumæ divitiæ, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet; & illa, quam hæc tempora, magis placent; cum regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina & humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere. Nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum audebat recusare? Atque ego, tamen si flagitiosissimum existimo impune injuriam accepisse; tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, æquo animo paterer, esset.*

all. Some perhaps may ask, what I would have done then? To which I answer, that I would have those punished, who have betrayed the republick to the enemy, yet not in the way of violence or force; which how much soever they may have deserved at your hands, yet would be a part unworthy of you to act. No, the way I would have you to proceed in, is that of a legal prosecution, and the evidence of Jugurtha himself. Who, if he has surrendered in good earnest, will be obedient to your orders. But if he slight them, you may thereby judge what kind of peace and submission that is, by virtue whereof Jugurtha is to reap impunity for all his crimes, a few great men immense riches, and the republick nothing but loss and disgrace. Unless you are not even yet weary of their tyranny, and those times please you best, when kingdoms, the provinces, laws, courts, war and peace, and, in short, all things whatever, both divine and human, were at the disposal of a few great men: Whilst you the Roman people, the invincible Lords of the world, were content with life alone. For which of you durst refuse the yoke? And yet, tho' I think it highly dishonourable for a man to bear ill usage with a tame submission, I could be content you should pardon those wicked wretches, because they are your fellow-citizens, if your compassion to them would not end in your own destruction.

*ni misericordia in perniciem casura*  
XXXVII.



XXXVI. *Nam & illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciendi licentia eripitur; & vobis æterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intelligetis, aut serviundum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quæ spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere. Postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam divorfis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque vos, ne tantum scelus impunitum dimittatis. Non peculatus ærarii factus est; neque per vim sociis ereptæ pecuniæ; quæ, quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrumo prodita senatû auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum; domi militiæque respublica venalis fuit. Quæ nisi quæsitæ erunt, nisi vindicatum in noxios, quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis, quia ea fecere, obediens vivamus? Nam impune quælibet facere, id est regem esse. Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor, uti jam malitis civis vestros perperam, quam rec-*

XXXVI. But so violent is their inclination to mischief, that the letting them go unpunished for past crimes will avail you nothing, unless the power of committing the like be taken from them for the future; and you must live in perpetual anxiety, when you find yourselves under a necessity of being slaves, or maintaining your liberty by force of arms. For what hope is there of preserving faith or concord amongst us? They are desirous to lord it over you at pleasure, you to be free; they to do mischief, you to hinder it. Finally, they use your allies as enemies, your enemies as allies. Can there be any peace or friendship in minds so differently disposed? Wherefore I advise and beseech you, not to let such villainy go unpunished. The case now before you is not that of robbing the treasury, or oppressing your allies, which tho' very grievous things, yet are grown so fashionable, that they pass for trifles only. The authority of the Senate, and your mighty power, have been betrayed to your most virulent enemy; and the commonwealth set to sale both at home and abroad. And unless strict enquiry be made into this misconduct, and the guilty be punished, what will be left for us, but to live in a slavish subjection to the villains? For to do with impunity whatsoever a man pleases, is to be a King. I would not hereby be thought to encourage you to wish your fellow-citizens may be rather found guilty, than innocent; but only not to pardon

*te, fecisse; sed ne ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc, in republica multo præstat, beneficii, quam maleficii, immemorem esse. Bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi negligas; at malus improbior. Ad hoc, si injuria non sint, haud sæpe auxilii egeas.*

XXXVII. Hæc atque alia hujuscemodi sæpe dicundo, C. Memmius populo Romano persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur; eumque, interposita fide publica, Romam duceret; quo facilius indicio regis, Scauri, & reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcescebant, delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidia relictī ab Bestia exercitui præerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui, plurima & flagitiosissima facinora fecere. Fuere, qui auro corrupti elephantos Jugurthæ traderent; alii perfugas venderent; pars ex pacatis prædas agebant. Tanta avaritia in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius prætor, perlata rogatione a C. Memmio, ac percussa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur;

such as shall really appear guilty, to the ruin of the innocent. Besides, in the administration of the government, it is better to forget a kindness done the publick, than an offence committed against it. The good man only becomes less inclined to serve his country, if you overlook him; but the wicked becomes still worse. Besides, if no wickedness be acted against the state, you seldom want assistance.

XXXVII. *By frequently haranguing the people in this strain, Memmius persuades them to send L. Cassius, at that time Prætor, to Jugurtha, to bring him to Rome upon the publick faith, in order to use him as an evidence against Scaurus, and the rest, who were charged with taking his money. Whilst these things are doing at Rome, they who were left by Bestia with the command of the army in Numidia, following the example of their general, were guilty of a great deal of very scandalous behaviour. Some were bribed to return Jugurtha his elephants, others to sell him deserters, others again plunder'd the country that was at peace with us. To such a degree had covetousness, like the plague, infected their minds. But Cassius the Prætor, upon passing of the bill preferred by Memmius, to the great consternation of all the nobility, goes over to Jugurtha, and persuades him being sorely frightened, and from a sense of his guilt looking upon his case as desperate, Since he had submitted to the Roman people, not to make tryal of their power, rather than eique*

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 123

eique timido, & ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet, *quoniam se populo Romano dedidisset, ne vim, quam misericordiam ejus, experiri malit.* Privatim præterea

fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam, ducebat. Talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat,

XXXVIII. Igitur Jugurtha, contra decus regium, cultu quam maxime miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit. At, tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quæ supra memoravimus, C. Bæbium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus & injurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione, (quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, & pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris aperiret, more majorum de hoste supplicium sumi) dignitati magis, quam iræ, consulens, sedare motus, & animos eorum mollire; postremo confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium cœpit, producto Jugurtha, verba facit; Romæ Numidiæque facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque ostendit; quibus ju-

their clemency. *Besides, he privately engaged his own faith in his behalf, which the other valued as much as the publick faith itself. So excellent a character, had Cassius at that time.*

XXXVIII. *Wherefore Jugurtha comes along with Cassius to Rome, with a very sorry equipage, much below the dignity of a prince. And tho' he had a good heart upon the matter, being encouraged by all, by whose power and roguery he had been supported in his wicked management, above related; yet he prevails with C. Bæbium, Tribune of the commons, by an immense bribe, to employ all his impudence, in order to protect him against right, and the punishment due to his crimes. But C. Memmius summoning the people together, altho' they were much enraged against the King, and some were for clapping him in jail, and others for punishing him capitally, according to the ancient Roman usage, unless he discovered those concerned with him in his wickedness; yet Memmius, I say, having a regard to what honour required, rather than what passion directed, endeavoured to allay their heat, and mollify them; declaring finally, that he however would have no hand in the violation of the publick faith. And at last, when silence was obtained, Jugurtha being brought before the assembly, he spoke, and recounted all his pranks at Rome, and in Nu-*  
Q. 2 vanti-



*vantibus, quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intelligat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere; si verum aperiat, in fide & clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam; sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore, sed se suasque spes corrupturum.* Dein ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit, & Jugurtha respondere iussus est, C. Bæbius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet. Ac, tametsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus, ludibrio habitus, ex concione discedit. Jugurthæ, Bestiæque, & cæteris, quos illa quæstio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

XXXIX. Erat ea tempestate Romæ Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulustæ filius, Masinissæ nepos; qui quia in dissensione regum, Jugurthæ adversus fuerat, dedita Cirta, & Atherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proximo

*media; set forth his wicked behaviour towards his father, and his brothers; and gave him to understand, that tho' the Roman people knew by whose assistance and support he had done all those things, yet they had a mind to have a more full discovery of the same from himself, which if he would truly and faithfully make, he might depend upon the honour and clemency of the Roman people; but if not, he would do his friends no service, and would moreover blast all his own hopes entirely.* When Memmius had done speaking, and Jugurtha was ordered to reply, C. Bæbius, Tribune of the commons, who had been secured by a good bribe, as I took notice above, commands the King to hold his tongue. And tho' the people there assembled were mightily incensed, and did by shouts, angry looks, and violence too very often, and all other means that passion dictates, endeavour to deter him from his purpose, yet his impudence prevailed. The people being thus fooled, broke up and departed. Jugurtha, Bestia, and the rest of them, against whom this enquiry was pointed, took heart upon it.

XXXIX. There was at that time a certain Numidian at Rome, by name Massiva, the son of Gulussa, and grandson of Masinissa, who, because in the quarrel betwixt the two Kings, he had been against Jugurtha, when Cirta was surrendered, and Atherbal put to death, had fled out of Africa. Sp. Albinus, who the next year after Bestia, was Consul with Q. Mi-  
anno

# BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 125

anno post Bestiam cum  
 Q. Minucio Rufo consu-  
 latum gerebat, persuadet,  
 quoniam ex stirpe Masi-  
 nissæ sit, Jugurtham ob  
 scelera invidia cum metu  
 urgeat, regnum Numidiæ  
 ab senatu petat. Avidus  
 consul belli gerundi, mo-  
 veri, quam senescere, om-  
 nia malebat. Ipsi pro-  
 vincia Numidia, Minucio  
 Macedonia evenerat.  
 Quæ postquam Massiva  
 agitare cœpit; neque  
 Jugurthæ in amicis satis  
 præsidii est; quod eorum  
 alium conscientia, alium  
 mala fama & timor animi  
 impediēbat; Bomilcari  
 proxumo ac maxime fi-  
 do sibi imperat, precio,  
*sicuti multa confecerat,*  
*insidiatores Massiva pa-*  
*ret; ac maxime occulte;*  
*sin id parum procedat,*  
*quovis modo Numidam*  
*interficiat.* Bomilcar  
 mature regis mandata  
 exsequitur; & per ho-  
 mines talis negotii artifi-  
 ces, itinera egressusque  
 ejus, postremo loca, atque  
 tempora cuncta explorat;  
 dein, ubi res postulabat,  
 insidias tendit. Igitur unus  
 ex eo numero, qui ad  
 cædem parati erant, paul-  
 lo inconsultius Massivam  
 aggreditur, illum obtrun-  
 cat; sed ipse deprehensus,  
 multis hortantibus, & in  
 primis Albino consule,  
 indicium profitetur. Fit

*nucius Rufus, perswades him, since  
 he was descended from Masinissa,  
 to aggravate the odiousness of Ju-  
 gurtha's crimes, and alarm him  
 with fears, by making his suit to  
 the Senate for the kingdom of Nu-  
 midia. The Consul being vastly  
 desirous of having the war conti-  
 nued under his command, was for  
 kindling a new flame, rather than  
 have the old one die away. He  
 had got by lot the province of Nu-  
 midia, Minucius Macedonia. When  
 Massiva begun to stir in the busi-  
 ness, Jugurtha being not able to  
 depend upon the protection of his  
 friends, because some were discour-  
 aged from meddling further in his  
 behalf, by a sense of their guilt;  
 others by suspicions conceived of  
 them, and their fears together,  
 orders Bomilcar, a very near  
 relation, and heartily in his inte-  
 rest, to go to work in a way,  
 wherein he had carried many of  
 his points, and hire some persons  
 to take off Massiva, and private-  
 ly, if possible; but if that should  
 not be found feasible, by any way  
 or means whatever. Bomilcar  
 quickly puts the King's orders in  
 execution; and by men well versed  
 in such sort of work, watches all  
 his motions and haunts; and when  
 the matter seemed ripe for it, lays  
 his plot. One of the rogues enga-  
 ged in the design, falls upon Mas-  
 siva, and kills him, but in so un-  
 guarded a manner, that he was  
 immediately apprehended; and be-  
 ing urged by many, and especially  
 Albinus the Consul, to confess who  
 set him on work, he did so. Bo-  
 milcar was prosecuted upon it, more  
 reus*

reus magis ex æquo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animadvertit, super gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis quam vadibus, consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit; veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus eodem profectus est, jussus a senatu Italia decedere. Sed postquam Roma egressus est, fertur, sæpe tacitus eo respiciens, postremo dixisse, *Urbem venalem, & mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.*

XL. Interim Albinus, renovato bello, com meatum, stipendium, aliaque, quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, ut ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, & alias, de-

agreeably to the law of natural justice, than that of nations, as being one of the retinue of Jugurtha, who had come to Rome upon the publick faith. But Jugurtha, tho' manifestly guilty of so villainous a fact, did not give over facing down the truth, 'till he perceived the odium of the thing was quite too hard for all his interest and money together. And therefore, tho' in the first action he had given fifty of his friends as bail for Bomilcar's appearance, yet being more concerned for the preservation of his kingdom, than his bail, he sends him off privately into Numidia, fearing lest the rest of his subjects should be afraid of obeying him, if he should be punished. And in a few days after he went away himself, being ordered by the Senate to depart out of Italy. It is reported of him, that after he was got out of Rome, he frequently look'd back, without saying any thing; but at last broke out into these words, that the city was to be sold, and would soon be ruined, if it did but meet with a chapman.

XL. The war being now revived, Albinus makes haste to transport into Africa provisions, money, and other necessaries for the army, and went forthwith himself, that he might by force of arms, the surrender of Jugurtha, or by any other means, dispatch the war before the election, which was not very far off. But on the other hand, Jugurtha endeavoured to spin out the time, and contrived divers means for that purpose. He

inde



inde alias moræ caussas facere; polliceri deditiōnem, ac deinde metum simulare; instanti cedere, & paullo post, ne sui diffident, instare; ita belli modo, modo pacis mora consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existimarent; neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum socordia magis, quam dolo, crederent.

XLI. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitiorum dies adventabat; Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris proprætore relicto, Romam decessit. Ea tempestate Romæ seditiōibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus & L. Annius tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur; quæ dissensio totius anni comitia impediēbat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem proprætorem in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli, aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniæ capiundæ, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat; magnisque itineribus hieme aspera pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod

*promised to surrender, and then quickly excused himself, under pretence of apprehending ill usage. When the enemy pushed him, he fled; and presently, for fear of discouraging his men, came briskly on again. And thus did he besool the Consul, one while by pretensions of war, and another while those of peace. There were some at that time, who did believe that Albinus was no stranger to the King's purpose, and that after so much haste, the war was not protracted from carelessness, but design.*

XLI. But the time being now elapsed, and the day of election at hand, Albinus leaves his brother Aulus to supply his place in the camp, and goes to Rome. At that time the commonwealth was put into great convulsions by some broils among the Tribunes. P. Lucullus, and L. Annius, Tribunes of the commons, pretended to stand candidates for the office the next year too, wherein they were opposed by all their colleagues; which dispute kept off all the other elections likewise. Upon occasion of this delay, Aulus, who, as we have just said, had been left Proprætor in the camp, being put in hopes of either finishing the war, or extorting money out of the King, by the terrour of his army, draws his soldiers, in the month of January, out of their winter-quarters upon an expedition, and came by great marches, in a severe season, to the town of Suthul, where all the King's treasure lay. Which, tho' it could not be either taken, or be-  
quam-

quamquam, & sævitia temporis, & opportunitate loci, neque capi neque obsideri poterat, (nam circum murum situm in prærupti montis extremo planicies limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat) tamen, aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine cæcus, ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque, quæ incœpto usui forent, properare.

XLII. At Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati, subdolus ejus augere amentiam; missitare supplicantis legatos; ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca & tramites exercitum ducere. Denique Aulum spe pactationis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem insequeretur; ita delicta occultiora fore. Interea per homines calidos diu noctuque exercitum tentabat. Centuriones ducisque turmarum partim, uti transfugerent, corrumpere; alii, signo dato, locum uti desererent. Quæ postquam ex sententia instruxit; in tempesta nocte de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Ro-

*sieged, by reason of the sharpness of the weather, and the natural strength of the place; for there was a perfect marsh made by the winter's rains quite round the wall, built upon the extremity of a craggy mountain; yet either by way of feint, to fright the King, or blinded with a greedy desire of taking the town, for the booty that was in it, he began to form vineæ, to cast up a mount, and make other necessary preparations for an assault upon the place.*

XLII. But when Jugurtha found out the weakness and unskilfulness of the lieutenant, he craftily contrived how to improve his madness. He would frequently send deputies with very submissive messages, and he himself, as if on purpose to keep out of his way, would often lead his army through woody parts of the country, and by-roads. Finally, he tempted Aulus, by the hopes of a good bargain, to quit Suthul, and follow him into a lonely part of the country, as if he was flying before him, but in reality the better to conceal their vile pranks. In the mean time, he was day and night tampering with the army, by some cunning agents. Some centurions, and officers of horse, he bribed to desert to him, and others to quit their posts, when the signal was given. After he had thus made such preparations as he thought proper, very unexpectedly, in the dead of the night, he encloses Aulus's camp quite round,

mani

mani perculsi tumultu insolito, arma capere alii; alii se abdere; pars terribiles confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis; vis magna hostium; cœlum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps; postremo, fugere, an manere, tutius foret, incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum, cum duabus turmis Thracum, & paucis gregariis militibus, transire ad regem; & centurio primi pili tertiæ legionis per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit; eaque Numidæ cuncti irrupere. Nostri scæda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque præda castrorum hostis, quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. Deinde Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit; tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame ferroque clausum tenet, tamen se, memorem rerum humanarum, si secum fœdus faceret, incolumes omnis sub jugum missurum; præterea, uti diebus decem Numidia dederet. Quæ gravia quamquam & flagitii plena erant; tamen quia mortis metu mutabantur,

with a vast number of his Numidians. The Roman soldiers being alarmed with an unusual hurry about the camp, some of them took arms, others hid themselves, some endeavoured to encourage such as were frightened; great consternation there was in all places, the enemies very numerous, the night dark and cloudy, danger on all hands. Finally, it was impossible to judge, whether it would be safer to fly, or stay in the camp. But of the number of those, who, I have just said, had been bribed; one battalion of Ligurians, with two troops of Thracian horse, and a few common soldiers, went over to the King. And a centurion of the first rank belonging to the third legion, gave the enemy entrance into the camp, by that part of the rampart where he was posted for it's defence, and there all the Numidians broke in. Our men by a shameful flight, and most of them throwing away their arms, got off to a neighbouring hill. Night, and the plunder of the camp hindered the enemy from making advantage of their victory. The next day Jugurtha, at a conference with Aulus, told him. That tho' he had him with his army in his power, distressed both by famine and sword, yet being sensible of the uncertainty of human affairs, if he would conclude a treaty with him, he would give quarter to the army, but should oblige them to pass under the yoke; and furthermore insisted upon his quitting Numidia in ten days. And tho' the terms were hard and scandalous, yet the fear of death made

R

sicuti



ficuti regi luberat, pax  
convenit.

XLIII. Sed, ubi ea  
Romæ comperta sunt,  
metus atque mœror civi-  
tatem invasere. Pars do-  
lere pro gloria imperii;  
pars insolita rerum belli-  
carum timere libertati;  
Aulo omnes infesti, ac  
maxume qui bello sæpe  
præclari fuerant, quod  
armatus dedecore potius,  
quam manu, salutem  
quæfiverit. Ob ea consul  
Albinus, ex delicto fratris  
invidiam, ac deinde peric-  
ulum timens, senatum  
de scedere consulebat; &  
tamen interim exercitui  
supplementum scribere;  
ab fociis & nomine Lati-  
no auxilia accersere; de-  
nique omnibus modis fe-  
stinare. Senatus ita, uti  
par fuerat, decernit, suo  
atque populi injussu nul-  
lum patuisse fœdus fieri.  
Consul, impeditus a tri-  
bunis plebis, ne, quas  
paraverat copias, secum  
portaret, paucis diebus in  
Africam proficiscitur.  
Nam omnis exercitus,  
uti convenerat, Numidia  
deductus in provincia hie-  
mabat. Postquam eo  
venit (quamquam perse-  
qui Jugurtham, & mederi  
fraternæ invidiæ animo  
ardebat) cognitis militi-  
bus, quos præter fugam,  
soluta imperio, licentia

them go down, and a peace was  
accordingly concluded upon the con-  
ditions offered by the King.

XLIII. As soon as the news of  
all this was carried to Rome, the  
city was full of fear and sorrow  
both. Some were concerned for  
the honour of the empire; others,  
unacquainted with the business of  
war, thought their liberty in dan-  
ger. All people were in a rage at  
Aulus, but principally those, who  
had often distinguished themselves  
by their gallant behaviour in the  
wars, that he, when he had arms  
in his hand, should save himself by  
an infamous submission, without  
striking a stroke. Upon this the  
Consul Albinus being apprehensive,  
from the ill behaviour of his bro-  
ther, of the publick odium, and  
danger thereby, consulted the Se-  
nate upon the late treaty of his;  
and yet at the same time raised re-  
cruits for the army, and sent for  
auxiliary forces from the allies,  
and the people of Latium, and  
that with all possible expedition.  
The Senate, as it was fit they  
should, voted, That no valid treaty  
could be concluded, without theirs,  
and the people's authority for it.  
The Consul being not suffered by  
the Tribunes of the commons, to  
carry with him the troops he had  
raised, in a few days time went  
over into Africa without them. For  
all the army, according to the late  
agreement, had quitted Numidia,  
and wintered in the province.  
After his arrival, altho' he was  
passionately desirous to go in quest  
of Jugurtha, and wipe off the  
odium occasioned by his brother's ill  
atque

atque lascivia corruerat, *conduct; yet finding the ill state*  
 ex copia rerum statuit, *the soldiery were in, not only from*  
 sibi nihil agendum. *their late defeat, but the want of*  
*discipline, licence, and wantonness, whereby his brother had*  
*debauched them, he resolved, considering the bad situation of*  
*affairs, to be quiet.*

XLIV. Interea Romæ  
 C. Mamilius Limetanus  
 tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, *uti quæreretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglexisset; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias acceperant; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item, qui de pace aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent.* Huic rogationi partim consensu sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa, & alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos, ac maxime per homines nominis Latini, & socios Italicos, impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quantum intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem jussit, decreverit, voluerit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicæ: Tanta libido in partibus erat. Igitur, cæteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestia fuisse supra memora-

XLIV. *In the mean time at Rome, C. Mamilius Limetanus, Tribune of the commons, preferred a bill to the people, for appointing a commission of enquiry, for the tryal of all those, by whose encouragement Jugurtha had slighted the orders of the Senate; and such deputies or commanders, as had taken money of the King; such as had delivered up to him his elephants and deserters, as also those who had made any agreement with the enemy, relating to peace or war. Now such as were guilty, and others apprehensive of danger from the odium of the party they had engaged in, durst not openly oppose this bill; but pretended to be well pleased with this, and other the like proceedings; yet underhand endeavoured to hinder it's passing, by means of their friends, and especially those of Latium, and the allies of Italy. But it is incredible to say, how zealous the people were for the bill, and with what eagerness they passed it; more out of hatred to the nobility, against whom it was levelled, than out of any concern for the publick weal; so violent was the fury of the parties at that time. Wherefore, whilst all the rest were heartily frightened, M. Scaurus, who was a lieutenant-general of Bestia's, as I have above said, amidst the exultations of the common people, the*

vimus, inter lætitiā plebis & suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate, cum ex Mamiliā rogatione tres quæsitores rogarentur, effecerat, ut ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quæstione exercita asperē violenterque, ex rumore & lubidine plebis, uti sæpe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLV. Cæterum mos partium popularium, & senati factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium, paucis ante annis Romæ ortus est, otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam, ante Carthaginem deletam, populus & senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant; neque gloriæ dominationis certamen inter civis erat; metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, scilicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in adversis rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque cœpere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinemvertere; sibi quisque du-

*flight of those of his party, and the distraction of the town, procured himself to be chosen one of the three commissioners appointed by Mamilius's bill. But as the commission was executed with great severity and violence, in conformity to vulgar report, and the humour of the people; these grew at that time insolent upon their success, as the nobility had often been before.*

XLV. Now the party of the commons, and the factions of the Senate, with all the mischievous practices ensuing, took their rise at Rome but a few years before, from idleness, and plenty of such things as mankind are apt to set the highest value upon. For before the destruction of Carthage, the people and Senate of Rome managed their affairs jointly, in perfect harmony and moderation, without the least bickering upon account of glory and power. The fear of their enemies kept the city in good order. But when that fear was now no more, then the constant attendants upon a state of prosperity, wantonness and pride, came in fashion. Thus they had no sooner attained what they had wished for, in the time of their adversity, peace, than they found the most pernicious consequences from it, and their case to be really worse than it was before. For the nobility begun to turn their power, and the people their liberty, into licentiousness. Rapine and violence now prevailed universally. And  
cere,



cere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt. Respublica, quæ media fuerat, dilacerata. Cæterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat; plebis vis soluta atque dispersa, in multitudine minus poterat; paucorum arbitrio belli domique respublica agitabatur; penes eisdem ærarium, provinciæ, magistratus, gloriæ, triumphique erant; populus militia, atque inopia urgebatur; prædas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia fine modo modestiæque invadere, polluere & vastare omnia; nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa præcipitavit. Nam, ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustæ potentiæ anteponebant, moveri civitas, & dissensio civilis, quasi permixtio terræ, oriri coepit.

XLVI. Nam, postquam Tiberius & C. Gracchus, quorum majores Punico, atque aliis bellis multum reipublicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, & paucorum scelera patefa-

*thus was the commonwealth rent into two parties, by which it was miserably torn to pieces. The faction of the nobility proved the most prevalent; that of the commons being more loose and divided, by reason of their numbers, was obliged to give ground; whereupon the management of all affairs, both in peace and war, fell into the hands of a few. They had the disposal of the treasury, provinces, places, glory, and triumphs. The populace were oppressed by service in wars and want. The generals, with a few friends, made prize of all the spoils of victory. In the mean time the parents, or the young children of the soldiers, according as they happened to be neighbours to any of the grandees, were forced from the possession of their estates. Thus did avarice, in conjunction with power, seize, ravage, and lay waste all before it, without the least regard to moderation or modesty at all; without thought or distinction, till it plunged itself into inextricable difficulties. For as soon as some of the nobility started up, who preferred true glory before unjust power, the city begun to be in an uproar, and civil distraction and confusion, not unlike a disjoining of the very earth itself, to arise upon it.*

XLVI. For after Tiberius and C. Gracchus, whose ancestors had, in the Carthaginian and other wars, been highly serviceable to the state, begun to assert the liberties of the commons, and to expose the wickedness of the other party; the nobility being guilty, and therefore

cere cœpere; nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; & primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Cajum, Tribunum plebis alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco, ferro necaverat. Et sane Gracchis, cupidine victoriæ, haud satis animus moderatus fuit. Sed bono vinci fatius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubricine sua usa, mortalis multos ferro aut fuga exstinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris, quam potentiæ, addidit; quæ res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, & victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed, de studiis partium, & omnibus civitatis moribus, si singillatim aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus, quam res, maturius deferet, quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

XLVII. Post Auli  
fœdus, exercitusque nostri  
fœdam fugam, Metellus

*under terrible apprehensions, did one while by our Italian allies, and those of Latium, another while by the Roman knights, whom the hopes of sharing in the spoil with them, had separated from the interest of the commons, endeavour to oppose the pretensions of the Gracchi, and killed by the sword Tiberius, and a few years after C. pursuing the same measures, the one a Tribune of the commons, and the other one of the three commissioners appointed for the planting of colonies; as also M. Fulvius Flaccus. And indeed the Gracchi, from too keen a desire of carrying their point, pushed matters too far. But a good man would rather chuse to be baffled in any cause, than carry it by ill measures. Wherefore the nobility making a most insolent use of their success in that struggle, put to death, or banished, great numbers of the commons, and rendered themselves for the future more terrible, rather than more powerful; a thing that has often proved ruinous to mighty states, whilst parties are for subduing one another at any rate, and using their victory with a vengeance upon their enemies, when they have once got them under. But should I propose to descant upon the fury of parties, and all the other corruptions of the city at large, and according to the extent of the subject, time would sooner fail me, than matter. I shall therefore again take up the thread of my history.*

XLVII. After the treaty of Aulus, and the scandalous return of our army into the province, the

# BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 135

& Silanus, consules designati, provincias inter se partiverant; Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, & quamquam adverso populi partibus, fama tamen æquabili & inviolata. Is, ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collega communia ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, præsidia undique accersere; arma, tela, equos, & cætera instrumenta militiæ parare; ad hoc, commeatum affatim; denique omnia, quæ in bello vario, & rerum multarum egenti, usui esse solent. Cæterum ad ea patranda senatus auctoritate, socii, nomenque Latinum & reges ultro auxilia mittendo, postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter artis bonas, tum maxime quod adversum divitias invictum animum gerebat; & avaritia magistratum ante id tempus in Numidia nostræ opes contusæ, hostiumque auctæ erant.

XLVIII. Sed, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus

*Consuls elect, Metellus and Silanus, divided the provinces betwixt them by lot, and Numidia fell to Metellus, a brisk man, and tho' an enemy to the popular party, yet of a general good character, and without blemish. As soon as he entered upon his office, thinking all other things concerned his colleague as much as him, he applied himself to make preparations for the war he was to command in, as what was his proper and peculiar business. Wherefore, as he put no great confidence in the old army, he made new levies, and sent for troops from all parts, and provided arms of all sorts, horses, and other instruments of war, besides plenty of provisions; and finally, all things necessary for a war, that would require no small variety. And to help forward the business, the Senate contributed their authority; our allies and the Latins, and foreign princes too, sent in troops of their own accord; and finally, the whole city exerted itself strenuously upon the occasion. Wherefore, when now all things were prepared, and regulated, to his mind, he passes over into Numidia; whilst the Romans were now all in full expectation of success, as well because of the other excellent qualities of the general, as especially, because he had a soul invincibly fortified against the temptation of money; whereas our affairs in Africa had been ruined, and the strength of the enemy increased, by the avarice of our own commanders.*

XLVIII. But after his arrival in Africa, the army of the Procon-



ei traditur. Sp. Albinus proconsulis, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, lingua, quam manu, promptior, prædator ex fociis, & ipse præda hostium, sine imperio & modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quam ex copia militum auxilii, aut bonæ spei, accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, (quamquam & æstivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, & exspectatione eventui civium animos intentos putabat) non prius bellum attingere, quam majorum disciplina milites laborare coegisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis æstivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites in stativis castris habeat; nisi cum odos, aut pabuli egestas, locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari vigiliæ deducebantur. Uti cuique lubebat, ab ipsis aberat. Lixæ permisti cum militibus diu noctuque vagabantur; & palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris & mancipiorum prædas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectio,

*ful Sp. Albinus was delivered up to him, not at all disposed for action, but heartless, and neither capable of enduring danger or fatigue, much more ready with their tongues than their hands, accustomed to plunder the allies, whilst they themselves were a prey to the enemy, as being under no proper command, in no order at all. Thus the new general had more trouble with the vicious manners of the soldiers, than he had either help or hope from their numbers. However, Metellus was resolved, notwithstanding the lateness of the election had left but a short time for that year's campaign, and he did suppose that the minds of the people at Rome would wait the issue of the war with impatience, not to enter upon action, 'till he had by due discipline brought the soldiers to bear fatigue. For Albinus being quite dismayed with the late defeat of the army under the command of his brother, and resolving thereupon not to stir out of the province, kept the soldiers, during the time of his command that summer, in standing camps, which he changed not, 'till the stench of them, or the want of forage, obliged him to be gone. But neither was the watch kept, as is usual in war; and every man strolled from the camp at pleasure; and the servants, together with the soldiers, run about night and day, wasting the country, and forcing gentlemen's houses, carried off vast numbers of cattle, and slaves continually, and exchanged them with merchants for wine they brought them, and*

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 137

& aliis talibus. Præterea, frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari. Postremo, quæcumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviæ luxuriæque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, & alia amplius.

XLIX. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus, quam in rebus hostilibus, magnum & sapientem virum fuisse comperior; tanta temperantia inter ambitionem sævitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primo adjuncta ignaviæ sustulisse, *ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium cibum coctum venderet; ne lixæ exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris, neve in agmine servum, aut fumentum haberet.* Cæteris arte modum statuiffe. Præterea, transvorsis itineribus quotidie castra movere; juxta ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire; vigiliis crebras ponere, & eas ipse cum legatis circuire; item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, sæpe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur; uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum & arma porteret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis, quam vin-

*other such things. Besides, they would sell the corn allowed them by the government, and buy bread every day. In short, all the most scandalous effects of idleness and luxury, that can be mentioned or imagined, were every one of them in that army, and more too.*

XLIX. *But I find Metellus shewed himself as great and able a man under this difficulty, as in his conduct against the enemy; he observed so due a mean betwixt sneaking to gain the favour of his troops, and cruelty. For in the first place, he ordered out of the camp by proclamation, all the supports of idleness; as that no body should sell bread, or any other dress'd victuals, in the camp; that no fetchers of wood should follow the army, nor any common soldier have in the camp, or upon a march, a servant, or any beast of burden. And in respect of other things, was very sparing in his allowance of them. Besides, he would daily march his army, not directly forward, but to the right and left alternately, and secure his camp by a rampart and ditch, just as if an enemy was at hand; kept due watch in the same, and went the rounds himself, attended by his lieutenant generals; and upon a march, he would sometimes be in the van, sometimes in the rear, and oftentimes in the main body, to see that no man quitted his rank, but all duly attended their own standards, and carried their own provisions and arms. Thus in a short time he infused vigour and spirit into his*  
S dicando,

dicando, exercitum brevi confirmavit.

L. Interea Jugurtha, ubi, quæ Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit, simul de innocentia ejus certior Romæ factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditiōnem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulē cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat, genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio diversos aggreditur; ac paullatim tentando, postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, uti Jugurtham maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent; cæterum palam, quæ ex voluntate forent, regi nunciari jubet. Dein ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit; ubi, contra belli faciem, turguria plena hominum, pecora, cultoresque in agris erant; ex oppidis & mapalibus præfecti regis obviam procedebant, parati frumentum dare,

army, rather by keeping them from the breach of orders, than punishing them.

L. In the mean time, Jugurtha being advised of what Metellus was doing, and having been informed at Rome of his integrity, begun now to despair of success in the war, and to think of making a surrender of himself in good earnest. Wherefore he dispatches messengers to the Consul, to capitulate only for the lives of himself and children, submitting every thing besides to the pleasure of the Roman people. But Metellus had before found sufficiently by experience the nation of the Numidians to be faithless, fickle, and fond of change. Wherefore he tampers with the messengers apart, and when by sifting of them, he found them for his purpose, he by large promises persuades them, to deliver up to him Jugurtha alive, if possible, but if not, dead. But openly orders them to carry an answer to the King, agreeable to his desire. And a few days after marches into Numidia with his army ready for action; where there was not the least appearance of war, the country houses being full of men, and the lands of cattle, and people at work upon their ground; the King's governours too came from the towns and cottages to meet Metellus, ready to furnish him with corn, and other provisions; and in short, to execute all his commands whatever. But Metellus notwithstanding, march'd with his army in a posture of defence, as if the enemy was comme-



commeatum portare ; postremo omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed, pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, & insidiis locum tentare. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum & sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat. In postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat. In utrumque latus equites auxilios tribunis legionum & præfectis cohortium dispersiverat ; uti cum his permixti velites, quocumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum & militiæ erat, ut, absens an præsens, pacem an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

LI. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vacca, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum ; ubi & incolere & mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul, simul tentandi gratia, &, si paterentur opportunitates loci, præsidium imposuit ; præterea imperavit frumentum, & alia, quæ bello usui fo-

at hand ; sent his scouts into all quarters round, as looking upon those tokens of submission designed for shew only, and in order to trap him. Wherefore he marched in the van, attended by some battalions clear of baggage, and a body of slingers and archers. In the rear commanded his lieutenant-general C. Marius with the horse ; and the auxiliary horse he disposed of in the flanks, under the command of the Tribunes of the legions, and the commanders of the battalions, with which were mixed some light-armed foot ; and all this he did in order to repulse the enemy's horse, in what quarter soever they should make their attack. For Jugurtha was a man of so much subtilty, and so well acquainted with the country, and the business of war, that it was hard to say, whether he was more mischievous, when absent or present, in peace or war.

LI. There was not far from the rout Metellus was in, a town of the Numidians, called Vacca, a place of the greatest trade of any in the kingdom, where a great many Italian merchants were settled, upon account of traffick. Metellus, as well to try the submission of the people, as upon account of the advantages of the place, put a garrison into it ; and further made a demand of corn, and other necessaries for his army, supposing, as it was natural to do, that the great number of merchants there would be very convenient,

rent, comportare; ratus id, quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum & commeatum juvaturum exercitum, & jam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, præter suam liberorumque vitam omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad prodicionem domum dimittebat; regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, & inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

LII. Jugurtha, ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac suis se artibus tentari animadvertit, (quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, cæterum re bellum asperri- mum erat, urbs maxima alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati) coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur, explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriæ adductus, ex opportunitate loci, quam maxumas potest copias omnium generum parat, ac per trames occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiæ, quam Atherbal in divisi- one possederat, flumen

nient for the supplying his troops with provisions, and a means to secure his conquests. In the mean time, Jugurtha was continually sending messengers, and begging peace in the most submissive manner, leaving all things to the disposal of Metellus, but his own and his children's lives; whom the Consul wheedled into a design of betraying their master, as he had done by those that were sent before, neither absolutely refusing, nor promising the King the peace he desired, but in the mean while waiting the execution of the promises made him by the messengers.

LII. Jugurtha comparing Metellus's words with his deeds, and finding himself attacked by the arts he himself had before practised, as having, notwithstanding the hopes given him of a peace, a very smart war upon his hands, the principal city in his kingdom being taken from him, the country well known to the enemy, and his subjects tampered with to seduce them from their allegiance, being forced by the necessity of his affairs, he resolved to give battle to Metellus. Wherefore having got sufficient intelligence of the march of the enemy, and being in hopes of a victory from the advantage their situation presented, he raises as great a force as possible, of both horse and foot; and by some private cross routs gets before Metellus's army. There was in that part of Numidia, which Atherbal had, upon  
oriens

oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul ; quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum viginti, tractu pari, vastus ab natura & humano cultu ; sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertinens, vestitus oleastro ac myrtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quæ humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planicies deserta, penuria aquæ, præter fluminis propinqua loca : Ea confita arbuftis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

LIII. Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha extenuata suorum acie confedit ; elephantis & parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem præfecit ; eumque edocet quæ ageret. Ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu & peditibus delectis suos collocat ; dein singulas turmas & manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, uti, memores pristinae virtutis & victoriae, sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant. Cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint ; ducem illis, non animum, mutatum. Quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa ; locum superiorem

*the division thereof, a river running from the south, by name Muthul, at about twenty miles distance from which, there was a mountain parallel to the river, waste and uncultivated, from the middle of which rose a hill of vast height, covered with wild olives, myrtles, and other trees, which are apt to grow in a dry sandy soil. The plain betwixt the river and mountain, was all desert for want of water, except the parts bordering upon the river. Those were full of brushwood, cattle, and inhabitants.*

LIII. In this hill, which, we have already taken notice, lay across the rout Metellus was taking, Jugurtha sat down with his army, stretched out to a great length. He gave the command of the elephants, with a part of the infantry, to Bomilcar, and instructs him what to do. He posts himself nigher the mountain, with all the horse, and the choicest of the foot ; and then riding round the several troops and companies, he begs and beseeches them, to be mindful of their former bravery and success, and to defend themselves and his dominions from the avarice of the Romans. They were now to engage with those, whom they had before conquered, and obliged to pass under the yoke ; that they had only changed their general, not their temper. That he had made all the preparations for the battle, that could be expected

*ut*



*uti prudentes cum imperiis, ne pauciores eum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum conferrerent. Proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato Romanos invadere; illum diem aut omnis labores & victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum ærumnarum initium fore. Ad hoc viritim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, & eum ipsum aliis ostentare. Postremo, pro cuiusque ingenio pollicendo, minitendo, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare; cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicabatur. Primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque confederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, & tamen incerti quidnam esset, cum natura loci tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati) dein, brevi cognitis infidiis, paullisper agmen constituit. Ibi commutatis ordinibus, in dextro latere, quod proximum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiiis aciem instruxit; inter manipulos funditores & sagittarios dispersit, equitatum omnem in cor-*

from a commander; so that they had the advantage of the ground, surprize, numbers, and skill in war, on their side; and therefore ought to be upon their guard, and ready, when the signal should be given, to fall upon the Romans.

That that day would either secure to them the fruit of their former labours and victories, or prove the beginning of the most extreme misery. Besides, he addressed himself singly to such as he had for their gallant behaviour raised to riches or honour, put them in mind of his kindness, and shewed them to the rest. In short, he endeavoured to rouse the courage of one in one way, and another another, by promising, threatening, or entreating them, according to their several tempers. Whilst in the mean time Metellus, being not aware of the enemy, was spied coming down the mountain with his army. And being at first in some doubt, what that unusual appearance should mean (for the Numidians with their horses were among the brush-wood, but not sufficiently covered, by reason of the lowness of the trees, nor yet appearing so as to discover what they were, as being themselves and their standards concealed by the nature of the place, and other ways designedly) but in a short time perceiving the stratagem of the enemy, he ordered his army to halt a little; and then altering the disposition thereof, he reinforced it in the right wing, which was next the enemy, with three several bodies of reserves, for their support, if occa-

nibus

nibus locat; ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicut instruxerat, transvorsis principiis in planum deducit.

LIV. Sed, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvertit, veritus ex anni tempore & inopia aquæ, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus, & parte equitum, præmisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet; existumans hostis crebro impetu, & transvorsis præliis, iter suum remoratorios; & quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem & sitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, ficuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere; Marium post principia habere; ipse cum sinistræ alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt, præsidio quasi dum millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus adversariis receptui, ac post munimento foret; dein, repente signo dato, hostis invadit. Numidæ alii

*sion required; distributes the slingers and archers amongst the several companies, and places all the horse in the wings, and making a short speech suitable to the occasion, for the encouragement of his men, he drew down his army into the plain.*

LIV. But finding the Numidians keep their ground, without offering to quit the hill, and fearing from the season of the year, and the want of water in those parts, lest his army should be distressed by thirst, he sent his lieutenant-general Rutilius, with a light detachment of infantry, and a part of the cavalry, down to the river, to secure a proper place for his camp, as supposing the enemy would, by frequent attacks upon their flank, endeavour to retard their march; and as they had little hopes of succeeding by force of arms, would endeavour to distress our soldiers by continual fatigue and thirst. Upon this, he advanced leisurely, in the same order as he came down the mountain, so far as the nature of the place would admit. He kept Marius behind the principes; he marched with the horse of the left wing, who were now become the foremost in the march. But when Jugurtha saw that the rear of Metellus was now got by his van, he seizes upon the mountain Metellus had quitted, with a body of two thousand men, that the enemy, if routed, might not betake themselves thither for security; and then suddenly giving the signal, he falls upon the enemy. The Numidians some of  
postre-

postremos cedere ; pars a sinistra ac dextra tentare ; infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare. Quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prœlio, ipsi modo eminens fauciabantur, neque contra feriendi aut conferendi manum copia erat. Ante jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turma insequi cœperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxime divorsi. Ita numero priores, si a persequendo hostis detertere nequiverant, disiectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant. Sin opportunior fugæ collis, quam campi fuerant, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere ; nostros asperitas & insolentia loci retinebat.

LV. Cæterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, scæda atque miserabilis. Dispersi a suis, pars cedere, alii insequi. Neque signa, neque ordines observare. Ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare. Arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti. Nihil

of them attacked the rear, whilst others did the same upon the flanks, being very pressing and furious, insomuch that they every where put the Romans into some disorder. Of which those that made the most gallant opposition, were yet beset by the enemy's unsteady way of fighting ; and being themselves wounded by the discharge of the enemy's weapons, made upon them at a distance, could not come to strokes or close fight with them at all. For the horse, as they had before been instructed by Jugurtha, whensoever any troop of the Roman cavalry begun to pursue them, did not fly off together, or to any one certain place, but dispersed, one one way, and another another, as much as possible. And so being superior in numbers, if they could not by that means discourage the enemy's pursuit, they attack'd them upon their dividing, in rear, or flank. But if a hill lay more convenient for their flight, than the plain, the horses of the Numidians being used to the work, would easily make their way through the bushes, which ours, for want of being exercised in such rough work, could not do.

LV. But the appearance of things during the whole transaction, was various, uncertain, dismal, and miserable. Some, separated from their main body, fled, whilst others were engaged in the pursuit of the enemy. They neither kept by their standards nor companies. Where danger overtook any one, there he made a stand, and repulsed his adversary. Arms of all  
con-



consilio, neque imperio  
agi; fors omnia regere.  
Itaque multum diei pro-  
cesserat, cum etiam tum  
eventus in incerto erat.  
Denique, omnibus labore  
& æstu languidis, Metel-  
lus, ubi videt Numidas  
minus instare, paulatim  
milites in unum conducit;  
ordines restituit, & co-  
hortis legionarias quatuor  
advorsum pedites hostium  
collocat; eorum magna  
pars superioribus locis ses-  
sa confederat. Simul ora-  
re, hortari milites, ne de-  
ficerent, neu paterentur  
hostes fugientis vincere:  
Neque illis castra esse, ne-  
que munimentum ullum,  
quo cedentes tenderent:  
in armis omnia sita. Sed  
nec Jugurtha quidem in-  
tensea quietus erat; circu-  
ire, hortari, renovare  
prælium, & ipse cum  
delectis tentare omnia;  
subvenire suis, hostibus  
dubiis instare; quos fir-  
mos cognoverat, eminus  
pugnando retinere.

LVI. Eo modo duo  
imperatores, summi viri,  
inter se certabant ipsi  
pares, cæterum opibus  
disparibus. Nam Metello  
virtus militum erat, locus  
advorsus: Jugurthæ alia  
omnia, præter milites,  
opportuna. Denique Ro-

*sorts, horses, men, both enemies and  
Romans were all jumbled toge-  
ther; nothing was done under any  
certain conduct or command;  
chance ruled all. Wherefore the  
day was now far spent, whilst the  
event was still uncertain. Finally,  
when all were now quite faint  
with the fatigue of the action, and  
heat of the day, Metellus percei-  
ving the Numidians to abate of  
their vigour, draws by degrees his  
soldiers into one place, puts them in  
due order, and posts four legiona-  
ry battalions against the enemy's  
foot; a great part of which being  
heartily tired, were sat down up-  
on some rising grounds. At the  
same time Metellus entreated and  
encouraged his men not to faint, or  
suffer the flying enemy to get the  
victory. They had no camp or any  
fortification to fly to; all their  
hopes were in their arms. Nor was  
Jugurtha idle in the mean time,  
but rid round his troops to encou-  
rage them, and renew the fight,  
and did, with a body of choice  
troops, make all imaginable ef-  
forts for the purpose, relieving his  
own men. and pushing home upon  
the enemy, where they were in di-  
stress; and such as stood firm, he  
kept in play, by annoying them at  
a distance.*

LVI. And thus did these two  
great commanders struggle toge-  
ther for victory, equally matched  
indeed in their own persons, but in  
very different circumstances as to  
other respects. Metellus had the  
advantage with regard to the cou-  
rage of his men, but the disadvan-  
tage as to ground. Jugurtha had

T

mani,

mani, ubi intelligunt, neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri (& jam die vesper erat) advorso colle, sicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco Numidæ fusi fugatique, pauci interiere. Plerosque velocitas & regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis & parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paullatim suos in æquum locum deducit; ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo præmissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat; neque remittit, quid ubique hostes agerent, explorare. Postquam Rutilium confedisse jam, & animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthæ prælio clamorem augeri, veritus ne legatus, cognita re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

*lieutenant-general, upon understanding the matter, should return to the relief of his friends in distress, he extends his forces, which, in distrust of their courage, he had drawn up in close array, to a considerable length, in order to obstruct his passage; and in that disposition advances towards the camp of Rutilius.*

*the better of it in all other respects, excepting his men. Finally, the Romans finding no other means of security left them, since the enemy, by keeping at a distance, would give them no opportunity of engaging them, and night was now coming on apace, advance, as they were ordered, up the hill; whereupon the Numidians quitting their ground, were routed, and put to flight, and some few of them slain. But the most of them were saved by the goodness of their heels, and the enemy's want of sufficient acquaintance with the country, together. In the mean time Bomilcar, to whom Jugurtha, as we have above said, had given the command of the elephants, and a part of the infantry, as soon as Rutilius was pass'd him, draws down his men very leisurely into the plain; and whilst the lieutenant-general, according to his orders, pursues his march with all expedition to the river, he, unmolested, puts his troops into such a disposition, as the nature of the case required, and does not neglect to get intelligence what the enemy was every where doing. And after he was advised, that Rutilius was now encamped, and under no apprehensions of an enemy, and perceived too, that the shouting, where Jugurtha was engaged, grew louder and louder, fearing lest the*

LVII. Romani ex improvise pulveris vim magnam animadvertunt; nam prospectum ager arbutis confitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari; post, ubi æquabilem manere, & sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque appropinquare vident; cognita re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidæ, tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt; ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephantum quatuor capti, reliqui omnes numero quadraginta interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere, atque opere castrorum, & proelio fessi, lætisque erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu,

LVII. The Romans were surprized with the sudden appearance of a mighty dust raised; for the country being thick set with shrubs, hinder'd the view at any distance. And at first supposed it was only occasioned by the wind's sweeping the dry plain; but perceiving it to be constant, and approach nearer and nearer, as the army advanced, and thereupon discovering the matter, they fly to their arms, and by order of their commander, draw up before the camp. And after the enemy was come within proper distance, both sides engage with a great shout. The Numidians only made a stand, whilst they thought the elephants might be of service to them; but when they saw them entangled amongst the brush-wood, and separately enclosed by the enemy, they take to their heels, and most of them, throwing away their arms, got off safe by the advantage of a hill and the night together, which was now come on. Four elephants were taken; all the rest, forty in number, were slain. But the Romans, altho' fatigued with their march, the work of encamping, and battle too, and all in the height of joy for their success; yet as Metellus stay'd beyond their expectation, put themselves in due order, and advance to meet him. For the wiles of the Numidians admitted no slackness or remissness at all. And when now they were not far asunder, the night being dark, the noise alarmed both sides with the apprehensions of an enemy advancing, the consequence whereof had like to



velut hostes adventarent, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul & tumultum facere; & pene imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur pro metu repente gaudium exortum. Milites alius alium læti appellant, acta edocent, atque audiunt; sua quisque fortia facta ad cælum fert. Quippe res humanæ ita sese habent; in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet; adversæ res etiam bonos detrectant.

LVIII. Metellus, in iisdem castris quadriduo moratus, faucios cum cura reficit; meritos in præliis more militiæ donat; universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, ad cætera, quæ levia sunt, parum animum gerant; pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro præda fore. Tamen interim transfugas & alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitaret, cum paucis ne esset, an exercitum haberet, uti sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa & natura munita receperat; ibique cogebat exercitum, numero hominum ampliore, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli, cultorem. Id ea gratia eve-

*have been fatal, but that some horse, dispatch'd by both parties, discovered the truth. Whereupon their fear was followed with joy, and the soldiers fell to congratulating one another, and mutually imparting their accounts of the two actions, whilst each man extolls his own behaviour to the heavens. For such is the conditions of mankind; upon a victory cowards may boast; but ill success sinks the spirits of the brave themselves.*

LVIII. Metellus continued four days in the same camp, took due care for the recovery of his wounded men, confers presents, as is usual in war, upon such as had distinguished themselves in the late fight, commends them all in a speech he made them, and gives them thanks, advising them to shew the like courage for the dispatch of the work remaining upon their hands, which was but inconsiderable. They had fought sufficiently for victory; all they had now to labour for, was plunder. Yet in the mean time he sent out some deserters, and other proper persons, to enquire where Jugurtha was, or what he designed to do; whether he was only attended by few, or an army; and how he behaved himself after his defeat. But he was already retired to a woody part of the country, that was naturally very strong; and was there raising an army, already greater than the former, but unfit for action, and of no account; as be-

*niebat,*

niebat, quod, præter equites regiones, nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur. Quo cuiusque animus fert, eo discedunt. Neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur; ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus, ubi videt etiam tum regis animum ferocem esse; bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubricine geri non posset; præterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere; statuit non præliis, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in loca Numidiæ opulentissima pergit; agros vastat; multa castella & oppida, temere munita, aut sine præsidio, capit incenditque; puberes interfici iubet, alia omnia milium prædam esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obliides; frumentum, & alia, quæ usui forent, affatim præbita; ubicumque res postulabat, præsidium impositum. Quæ negotia multo magis, quam prælium male pugnatum ab suis, regem terrebant. Quippe cuius spes omnis in fuga sita erat; sequi cogeatur; &, qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex inopia,

ing more acquainted with husbandry and grazing, than the business of war. The reason whereof was, that not a man of the Numidians attends their prince upon a defeat, excepting his own horseguards, but go where they please. Nor is this any blemish upon their honour at all, as being the fashion. Wherefore Metellus perceiving the King's spirit to be still undaunted, and that the war was like to grow upon him again, which could not be carried on but as Jugurtha pleased; and that he was not upon an equal footing with the enemy in the contest; that they sustained less damage by a defeat, than his men did by a victory, he resolved not to carry on the war in the way of pitch'd field-battles, but after a different manner. Wherefore away he marches into the richest parts of Numidia, where he ravages the country, and takes abundance of castles, and towns, that were but slightly fortified, or without any garrison in them, and burns them, orders all the males of age to be put to the sword, granting all besides to his soldiers as plunder. Upon the consternation occasioned by this manner of proceeding, a great many people submitted themselves to the Romans, gave hostages, and supplied the army with corn, and other necessities, in great plenty. Garrisons were likewise placed where occasion required. Which things struck a much greater terrour into the King, than the late unfortunate battle had done. For he, whose hopes lay entirely in avoiding quod

quod optimum videbatur, consilium capit; exercitum plerumque in iisdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur; nocturnis & avii itineribus ignoratus, Romanos palantis repente aggreditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit. Et Numidæ, prius quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti iussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt.

*being most of them unarmed, were all either killed or taken prisoners, except some few that got off, yet not without being much wounded. And the Numidians, before any relief could come from the camp, according to orders, draw off to the next hills.*

LIX. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus; ut seque & exercitum more majorum gereret; in adverso loco victor tamen virtute fuisset; hostium agro potiretur; Jugurtham, magnificum ex Auli socordia, spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga coegisset habere. Itaque senatus, ob ea feliciter acta, diis immortalibus supplicia decernere. Civitas, trepida antea, & sollicita de belli eventu, læta agere; de Metello fama præclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti; omnibus modis festinare; cavere tamen nec

*his enemy, was now obliged to pursue him; and he that could not defend those parts of his dominions, where in fight he would have considerable advantages, was forced to carry on the war in those, where he would labour under disadvantages. Yet in this straight he takes such a course as seemed most adviseable. He orders the army to keep generally in the same parts, and attends the motions of Metellus himself, with a choice body of horse; and by marching in the night, and through by-roads, comes unexpectedly upon the Romans that had strolled from the camp; who*

LIX. In the mean time there was huge joy at Rome, upon the news of Metellus's success; how he conducted himself and his army, in a manner conformable to that of the brave old Romans; had by his gallant behaviour gained a victory, tho' with the disadvantage of the ground, and had made himself master of the enemy's country, having obliged Jugurtha, who was hugely elated with his success against Aulus, to put all his hopes in flying about with small parties. Wherefore the Senate orders public thanksgivings to the Gods upon account of the same. The city that was before in no small fear, and much concerned for the issue of the war, was now full of joy, and cried up Metellus most mightily; which inspired him with fresh zeal



ubi hosti opportunus fieret; meminisse post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita, quo clarior, eo magis anxius erat; neque post insidias Jugurthæ effuso exercitu prædari. Ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam præda, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant. Ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; cæterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi; tempus aut locum pugnae quærere; qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum & aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere. Modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere; postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in collis regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis minitari; neque prælium facere, neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

*scarcity in that country. One while he shewed himself to Metellus, another to Marius, would fall upon their rear, then presently make off again to the hills, and by and by alarm them again, first in one quarter, and then in another, neither engaging them in good earnest, nor suffering them to be quiet, but only hindering them from the execution of their design.*

*to bring the war to a happy conclusion, for which purpose he used all possible application; but yet, notwithstanding his haste, took care to be upon his guard against the stratagems of the enemy, remembering at the same time, that envy usually attends upon glory; and therefore the more famous he was, the more anxious he was too. And after that ambuscade of Jugurtha's, never suffered his army, to disperse for the plunder of the country. But when he had occasion for corn or forage, some battalions of foot, with all the horse, went as a guard to those employed in that service. He conducted one part of the army, and Marius the other. But the country was wasted more by the firing of towns, and other buildings, than plundering them. They used to pitch their camps at a small distance from one another, and when there was occasion for any considerable action, they joined in it. But to spread terror and desolation more effectually, they generally acted separately. At that time Jugurtha kept within view of them upon the hills, watching all advantages of time and place for the attacking of them. And wheresoever he could learn the enemy designed to march, he destroyed the forage, and the springs, of which there was great*

LX. Romanus imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam, & in ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zama, statuit oppugnare; ratus id, quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique praelium fore. At ille, quæ parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis; quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat. Præterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ita, compositis rebus, in loca quam maxime occulta discedit; ac paulo post cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum, quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, & jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit; simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant; fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare. Si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in

LX. *When the Roman general found himself so harassed by the wily conduct of the enemy, without any possibility of coming to an engagement with him, he resolved to attack Zama, the most considerable town in that part of the kingdom, wherein it lies; supposing, as the case indeed required, that Jugurtha would come to the relief of his subjects in that distress, and that a battle would ensue thereupon. But he being apprized of this intention by some deserters, by great marches got thither before Metellus, and encouraged the townsmen to stand out, putting some deserters into the place for their assistance, which of all the King's troops were the most to be relied upon, as who could not deceive him. Moreover, he assures them, he would be there again in due time with an army. And after he had thus ordered his affairs, he withdrew, and got off into some very private parts of the country, where soon after he was informed, that Marius had been dispatched from the army then upon a march, to Sicca, with a few battalions, to fetch in corn; which was the first town that revolted from the King, after the late unfortunate battle. Thither he goes with a few choice horse in the night; and as the Romans were coming out of town, falls upon them at the very gate. At the same time, with a loud voice, he begged of the Siccensians to attack the battalions in rear; that fortune had put into their hands an opportunity of performing a noble feat, which, if they did but lay hold of, that he*  
liber-

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 153

*libertate sine metu aetatem acturos.* Ac ni Marius signa inferre, atque evadere oppido properavisset; profecto cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium, fidem mutavissent; tanta mobilitate sese Numidæ agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini, paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

LXI. Marius ad Zammam pervenit. Id oppidum in campo situm; magis opere, quam natura, munitum erat; nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco patatis rebus, cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit; legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret; deinde, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur. Neque ea res Numidas terret; insensum intentique sine tumultu manent; prælium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; evadere alii; alii succedere; ac murum modo suffodere, modo scalis aggredi; cupere prælium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere; fudes, pila, præterea pieæ & sulphure tædam

should for the future enjoy his kingdom, and they their liberty, in great security. *And had not Marius, by pushing forward, got hastily out of the town, all, or the greatest part of the Siccensians, would certainly have changed sides; so fickle are the Numidians. But the soldiers of Jugurtha, being for some time kept in courage by the King, upon the enemy's making a vigorous resistance, scour off at last, with the loss of some few of their men.*

LXI. Marius came to Zama. *That town was situated in a plain, better fortified by art, than nature; abounding in all the conveniences of life, and well fraught with arms and men. Metellus having provided all things that the time and occasion required, draws his army quite round the town; and assigns his lieutenant-generals the several quarters they were to take care of; and then immediately, upon a signal given, a great shout is set up on all sides. Which did not terrify the Numidians at all, who stood buff, ready for the reception of the enemy; and accordingly a battle ensues. The Romans, according as each man was disposed, some fought with bullets or stones; some withdrew; others came in their room; and one while undermined, another scaled, the wall; eager to come to close fight with the enemy. On the other side, the townsmen tumbled great stones upon those that were under the wall, and discharged sharp stakes and lances, with pitch and sulphur on fire, upon them. Nor were those,*  
U mistam,



mistam, ardentia mittere. Sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat. Nam plerosque jacula, tormentis, aut manu emissâ, vulnerabant; parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LXII. Dum apud Zama sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improvîso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in præsidio erant, & omnia magis, quam prælium, expectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt; alii fugere, alii arma capere; magna pars vulnerati aut occisi. Cæterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto locum cepere paullo, quam alii, editiorem; neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt; sed tela eminus missâ remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrati; sin Numidæ propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere, & eos maxuma vi cedere, fundere, atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cum accerrime rem gereret, clamorem & tumultum hostilem a tergo accepit; deinde, converso equo, animadvertit fugam ad

*whose fears kept them further off, secure; most of them being wounded with weapons discharged from engines, or the hand; and so the brave, and the cowardly, were in equal danger, tho' not in equal credit.*

LXII. During this fight at Zama, Jugurtha falls unexpectedly upon the enemy's camp, with a considerable force; and those left for the defence of it being off their guard, as expecting not in the least to be attacked, he breaks in at one of the gates. But our men being confounded with the surprize, provide for themselves, each according to his natural disposition. Some ran away, others took up arms; a great part of them were wounded or slain. And of all the number not above forty, being mindful of the Roman name, formed themselves into a body, and seized upon a rising ground; nor could they be dislodged from thence by all the fury of the enemy; but threw back upon them their own weapons, and with the more success, because there were so many of them; and if the Numidians came near them, they then laid about them with the utmost bravery; slaughtering, routing, and putting them to flight. In the mean time, whilst Metellus was furiously engaged in the assault upon the town, he heard from his rear the shouting and noise of an enemy; upon which turning his horse, he perceived a rout of persons flying towards him; a plain  
se

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 155

se vorsum fieri ; quæ res indicabat popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere misit, ac statim C. Marius, cum cohortibus sociorum ; eumque lacrumans *per amicitiam, perque rem publicam, obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostes inultos abire sinat.* Ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha, munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis, in loca munita sese recipit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revertitur.

LXIII. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet ; portas, & proxima loca tribunis dispertit ; deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, uti superiore die, murum aggreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit. Qui in proximo locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur ; reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidæ resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equi-

*sign of their being friends. Wherefore he sent away all the horse immediately to the camp, and presently after them C. Marius, with some auxiliary battalions ; and with tears begs of him by their friendship, and the commonwealth, that he would not suffer any stain to fix upon the honour of their victorious army, or the enemy to get off unrevenge. He presently executes his orders. But Jugurtha, hindered by the rampart of the camp, whilst some threw themselves headlong down the same, and others by crowding and squeezing through the straight passage of the gates, stopp'd one another, after the loss of a great many men, gets away again into his fastnesses. Metellus, upon the approach of night, draws off his army into the camp, without being able to compass his design.*

LXIII. Wherefore the next day, before he drew out to renew the attack, he orders all the cavalry to patrol before the camp, on the side the King was to come ; the gates, and the parts adjoining, he assigns to some Tribunes ; and then he himself advances up to the town, and makes an assault upon the wall, as he had done the day before. In the mean time, Jugurtha from his cover comes suddenly upon our men. Those upon whom the brunt fell, were put for a while into some disorder ; but were soon relieved by the rest. Nor would the Numidians have been able to have stood it any long time, had not their foot, mixing with the horse, done great execution in the battle. Upon

tibus permisti magnam cladem in congressu facerent. Quibus illi freti, non uti equestri prælio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed advorsis equis concurrere, implicare, ac perturbare aciem; ita, expeditis pedibus suis, hostis pœne victos dare.

LXIV. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur; ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrime niti; neque alius in alio magis, quam in sese, spem habere; pariterque oppidani agere, oppugnare, aut parare omnibus locis; avidius alteri alteros fauciare, quam semet tegere. Clamor permistus, hortatione, lætitia, gemitu; item strepitus armorum ad cœlum ferri; tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui mœnia defensabant, ubi hostes paullulum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti prælium equestre prospectabant. Eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modo, modo pavidos, animadverteres; ac, sicuti audiri a suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus; huc & illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacentes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est, nam

whom the horse depending, they did not, according to their ordinary custom, pursue one while, and fly another, but charged breast to breast, confounding our troops, and putting them into such disorder, that they did in a manner deliver them up, nigh conquered, to their own light foot to dispatch.

LXIV. In the mean time, there was very warm work at Zama; each lieutenant-general and Tribune, in their several posts, exerting all the might they were masters of; placing their hopes of success not in others, but themselves. Nor were the townsmen less vigorous in their resistance. Both sides, in short, were more eager to wound the enemy, than secure themselves. Shouts were mix'd with encouragements, exultations, and groans. The din of arms reached the very heavens, and weapons flew thick on both sides. The besieged upon the wall, as oft as the fury of the besiegers abated, did with great attention view the engagement of the horse. And you might have seen them, according as matters went with Jugurtha, one while glad, and another while frightened. And where they could be heard or seen by their friends, some admonished them of what they thought proper for them to do; others encouraged them, or made signs to them with their hands, putting their bodies upon the stretch, and moving them this way or that, as if they themselves were avoiding, or discharging of weapons amongst them. Which being observed by



is in ea parte curabat, consulto lenius agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare; pati Numidas sine tumultu, regis praelium visere. Ita, illis studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi murum aggreditur; & jam scalis adgressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere; deinde, ubi unæ atque alteræ scilicet comminutæ, qui supersteterant afflicti sunt; cæteri, quo quisque modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti vulneribus, abeunt. Deinde utrimque praelium nox diremit.

LXV. Metellus postquam videt frustra inceptum; neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco pugnam facere; & jam æstatem exactam esse; ab Zama discedit, & in iis urbibus, quæ ab se defecerant, satisque munitæ loco, aut mœnibus erant, præsidia imponit. Cæterum exercitum in provinciam, quæ proxima est Numidiæ, hie mandandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti, aut luxuriæ concedit; sed, quoniam armis bellum

Marius, for he commanded in that quarter; he designedly slackened his speed, under pretence of being disheartened; suffering the Numidians to look on and see the engagement of the King. But then, whilst they were very intent upon the fight, he suddenly renews the assault upon the wall with the utmost violence. And now some of the soldiers were advanced upon ladders nigh the top of it, when the townsmen flocking to the place, pour upon them stones, fire, and all manner of weapons beside. Our men at first stood slyly to it; but some of them tumbling headlong to the ground, upon the breaking of a ladder or two they were upon, the rest shifted for themselves, as well as they could, a great many of them being sadly mauled, and few without wounds. At last night put an end to the fray.

LXV. Metellus finding his attempt upon the town to no purpose, and that it was impossible to take it, and that Jugurtha would not fight him, but in the way of surprise, or upon great advantage of ground; and that the summer was now almost over, marches away from Zama, and places garrisons in those cities, which had revolted from him, and were sufficiently strong by nature or art. But his army he puts into winter-quarters, in the province, where it borders upon Numidia. Yet he did not, according to the custom of others, spend the time in idleness and luxury; but since he had but small success in the use of arms, he resolves to lay a trap for Jugurtha,  
parum

parum procedebat, infidias regi per amicos tendere, & eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romæ cum Jugurtha fuerat, & inde, vadibus datis clam Massivæ de nece, iudicium fugerat; quod ei per maxumam amicitiam maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat; dein, fide data, si Jugurtham vivum, aut necatum, sibi tradidisset, fore, ut illi Senatus impunitatem, & sua omnia concederet; facile Numidæ persuadet, cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

LXVI. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium, ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet, atque lacrumans obtestatur, uti aliquando sibi liberisque, & genti Numidarum optume merenti, provideat; omnibus præliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortales captos, occisos; regni opes comminutas esse; satis sæpe jam & virtutem militum, & fortunam tentatam; caveat, ne illo cunctante, Numi-

by means of his friends, and make use of their treachery, instead of arms. Accordingly he attacks with mighty promises Bomilcar, who had been at Rome with Jugurtha, and by deserting his bail, and flying from thence, had evaded his trial for the murder of Massiva; because he had, by reason of his great intimacy with him, the best opportunity of deceiving him. He first prevails upon him to come privately, and confer with him; and then giving him his word and honour upon it, that if he delivered Jugurtha alive, or dead, the Senate should grant him a pardon, and all his Estate; he easily persuades the Numidian, who was naturally perfidious, and withal afraid, lest, upon the conclusion of a peace with the Romans, he should, by the articles of it, be delivered up to punishment.

LXVI. He, as soon as opportunity presented, accosts Jugurtha, full of perplexity, and lamenting his case; advising and beseeching him with tears, to take at last proper measures for his own safety, with that of his children, and the whole nation of the Numidians, which had deserved very well at his hands. That they had, he said, been defeated in every battle; the country laid waste, and a world of people made prisoners, and slain; whereby the strength of his kingdom had been reduced to nothing. That he had sufficiently tried both the valour of his troops, and his

*dæ sibi consulant.* His, atque talibus aliis ad deductionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent, ac sine ulla pactione sese, regnumquæ suum, in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere cunctos Senatorii ordinis ex hibernis accerfiri jubet; eorum, atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos *Jugurthæ imperat, argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum & armorum aliquantum.* Quæ postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnis perfugas vinctos adduci. Eorum magna pars, uti justum erat, adducti; pauci, cum primum deditio cœpit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauritaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis, virisque, et pecunia spoliatus est, cum ipse ad imperandum Tifidium vocaretur, rursus cœpit flectere animum suum, & ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique, multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis, cum modo tædio rerum advorсарum omnia bello potiora duceret; interdum secum ipse reputa-

fortune too; and therefore ought to have a care, lest, if he demurred any longer upon the matter, the Numidians should provide for their own security, without him. *With these, and the like arguments, he at last prevails with the King, to think of making a surrender. Accordingly deputies are dispatched to the Roman General, to let him know, that Jugurtha would submit to his pleasure, and, without insisting upon any terms, would cast himself, and his kingdom, upon his honour. Metellus immediately orders all the gentlemen of Senatorian rank to be summoned from their winter-quarters, to hold a council with them, and others, such as he judged proper to advise with upon the occasion. And so, according to ancient Roman usage, upon a determination of the council to that effect, he, by the deputies, orders Jugurtha to deliver up two hundred thousand pound of silver, all his elephants, and some horses and arms. Which being immediately done accordingly, he commands all the deserters from him to be brought to him in chains; and a great part of them were brought, as ordered. Some few of them, as soon as the affair of the surrender begun, fled off to King Bocchus in Mauritania. Wherefore Jugurtha being thus stript of arms, men, and money, upon his being summoned to Tifidium, to receive further commands, begun again to change his mind, and from a sense of his guilt, to fear meeting with his deserters. Finally, after he had spent many days in doubt with himself,*  
*ret,*



ret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret; multis, magnisque præfidiis nequicquam perditis; de integro bellum sumit. Et Romæ Senatus, de provinciis consultus, Numidiam Metello decreverat.

*purpose, resolves a-fresh upon war. Now the Senate at Rome, being consulted about the disposal of the provinces, had voted Numidia for Metellus.*

LXVII. Per idem tempus Uticæ forte C. Mario, per hostias diis supplicanti, magna, atque mirabilia portendi Haruspex dixerat; proinde, quæ animo agitabat, fretus diis ageret; fortunam quam sæpissime experiretur; cuncta prospere evenitura. At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat; ad quem capiundum, præter vetustatem familiæ, alia omnia abunde erant; industria, probitas, militiæ magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubricinis, & divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus. Sed is natus, et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum ætas militiæ patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Græca facundia, neq; urbanis mundiis, sese exercuit; ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribu-

*what to do, as one while, from an uneasiness under his misfortunes, thinking any terms whatever preferable to war; and then again considering, how heavy a fall he should have from the height of royal majesty into a state of slavery; after he had now thrown away a considerable part of his strength to no*

LXVII. About the same time as Caius Marius was at Utica, paying his devotion to the Gods by sacrifice, the Haruspex told him, that there appeared therein prognosticks of great and wonderful favours designed him by heaven; and therefore he might depend upon the protection and blessing of the Gods, in the execution of his designs; and might push his fortune, as much as he pleased, with assurance of success. Now he had, some time before this, been seized with a passionate desire of the Consulship; and indeed was abundantly furnished with all the qualifications requisite for obtaining it, besides that of a noble descent, such as industry, integrity, skill in the military art, a spirit great in war, but moderate in peace; far above covetousness and riches, and ambitious of glory alone. He was born and brought up at Arpinum, and as soon as he came of age to bear arms, he applied himself to the service of his country in the wars, not to the study of the Græcian eloquence, or the sopperies of the town; and thus was his noble genius advanced to the highest pitch of improve-

natum

natum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu, alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore, quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir, (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est) Consulatum appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, Consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore, & quasi pollutus haberetur.

*valuable soever he was, upon the score of his own merit, was thought worthy of it, but rather a scandal to it.*

LXVIII. Igitur, ubi Marius haruspiciis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur; ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat; cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus, & superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re, mirari ejus consilium, & quasi per amicitiam monere, *ne tam prava inciperet, neu super*

*ment, in the practice of laudable qualities. And therefore, when he made his first suit to the people for a Tribune's commission, tho' most of them were strangers to his face, yet being soon known by his character, he was chosen by all the tribes, without exception. After that, he rose from one degree of honour to another; and behaved himself in them all so, that he was always thought worthy of a greater post, than that he was in. Yet as valuable a man as he was 'till that time (for afterwards he was hurried away into strange excesses by his ambition) he durst not venture to offer himself a candidate for the Consulship. For at that time the commons were admitted to other offices; but the Consulship the nobility engrossed to themselves, transmitting it from one to another. No person of low birth, how famous or*

*LXVIII. Wherefore Marius finding the predictions of the soothsayer concur with his own ambitious inclinations, he requests of Metellus his discharge, in order to sue for the Consulship. And tho' Metellus had virtue, glory, and other desirable qualifications in abundance, yet had he a haughty spirit, and pride withal, the common bane of the nobility. Wherefore being at first much startled with the novelty of the thing, he wondered what he meant, and pretended in friendship to advise him, not to engage in so wild a project, or suffer his thoughts to tower above his fortune. All things were not to be*  
X *fortu-*

*fortunam animum gere-  
ret; non omnia omnibus  
cupienda esse; debere illi  
res suas satis placere; po-  
stremo caveret id petere a  
populo Rom. quod illi jure  
negaretur. Postquam hæc,  
atque alia talia dixit, neq;  
animus Marii flectitur;  
respondit, ubi primum po-  
tuisset per negotia publi-  
ea, facturum sese, quæ  
peteret. Ac postea, sæ-  
pius eadem postulanti,  
fertur dixisse, ne festina-  
ret abire; satis mature,  
illum cum filio suo Consu-  
latum petiturum. Is eo  
tempore contubernio pa-  
tris ibidem militabat, an-  
nos natus circiter xx.  
Quæ res Marium cum  
pro honore, quem affecta-  
bat, tum contra Metel-  
lum vehementer accende-  
rat. Ita cupidine, atque  
ira, pessimis consultori-  
bus, grassari, neque facto  
ullo, neque dicto absti-  
nere, quod modo am-  
bitiosum foret; milites,  
quibus in hibernis præ-  
erat, laxiore imperio,  
quam antea, habere; a-  
pud negotiatores, quo-  
rum magna multitudo  
Uticæ erat, criminosè  
mul & magnifice de bel-  
lo loqui; dimidia pars  
exercitus, si sibi permitte-  
retur, paucis diebus Ju-  
gurtham in catenis babi-  
turum; ab imperatore  
consulto trahi, quod, ho-*

*coveted by all men; he ought to  
be abundantly satisfied with his  
present condition. Finally, he bid  
him have a care of asking that of  
the Roman people, which they  
might very reasonably deny him.  
After he had said this, and other  
things to the like purpose, but with-  
out being able to divert Marius  
from his design, he told him, that  
as soon as the publick occasions  
would permit, he should comply  
with his request. And upon Mari-  
us's repeated instances to him for  
his discharge, he at last, they say,  
told him, He need not be in so  
much haste to be gone; he might  
sue time enough for the Consul-  
ship with his son. He at that time  
served under his father, being a  
youth of about twenty years of age.  
This only made Marius more eager  
of carrying his point, and very  
much incensed him against Metellus.  
Wherefore he now proceeded ac-  
cording to the instigation of two of  
the worst of counsellors, ambition  
and anger; by all his words and ac-  
tions he endeavoured to render him-  
self popular; keeping the soldiers he  
commanded in their winter-quar-  
ters, under a very loose discipline;  
and reflecting amongst the mer-  
chants, whereof there was a great  
number at Utica, upon the conduct  
of Metellus in the war, and boast-  
ing mightily what he would do;  
That with half the army, he would  
in a few days have Jugurtha in  
chains; the war was designedly  
prolonged by the general, who be-  
ing a vain man, and having all the  
haughtiness of a King in him,  
was too fond of his command.*



mo inanis, & regiae superbiae, imperio nimis gauderet. Quæ omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiaris corruperant; & animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXIX. Erat præterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissæ nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum hæredem scripserat, morbis confectus, & ob eam causam mente paulum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum, uti sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiæ causâ turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset; præsidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani, satellites Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium aggreditur, atque hortatur, ut contumeliarum in imperatorem, cum suo auxilio pœnas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit; illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissæ nepotem esse; si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus foret, imperium Numidæ sine mora

*All which things appeared to them the more plausible, because the long continuance of the war affected their trade; and no expedition seems sufficient to the man that is in haste to be rich.*

LXIX. *There was besides in our army, a certain Numidian, by name Gauda, the son of Mastanabal, and grandson of Masinissa, whom Micipsa in his will had made his second heir; a man distemper'd to such a degree, that it affected his mind. He had requested of Metellus the honour of a chair next him, as Kings had, and afterwards a troop of Roman horse for his guard; but he refused him both; the first, because it was an honour only paid to such as the Roman people complimented with the title of Kings; and the latter, because it would be an affront upon Roman knights to be made to attend upon a Numidian as his guard. In his concern for this refusal, Marius addresses him, and encourages him, by the promise of his assistance, to apply for satisfaction for the affronts put upon him by the general. He magnifies the poor mortal, who from the influence of his distempers upon his mind was little better than crazed, telling him, He was a prince, a great man, the grandson of Masinissa. If Jugurtha was but taken prisoner, or slain, he would, without more ado, forthwith get the kingdom of Numidia; which might quickly be brought about, if he was made Consul for*

*habiturum; id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse Consul ad id bellum missus foret. Itaque & illum, & equites Romanos, milites, & negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione Consulatus petebatur. Simul ea tempestate plebes nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.*

LXX. Interim Jugurtha, postquam, omissa deditione, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum; civitates, quæ ab se defecerant formidine, aut ostentando præmia adfectare; commovere suos locos; arma, tela, aliaque, quæ spe pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari; servitia Romanorum allicere, & eos ipsos, qui in præfidiis erant, pecunia tentare; prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati; cuncta agitare. Igitur Vaccenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, præsidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis, neque antea vo-

the management of the war. Wherefore he, the Roman knights, soldiers, and merchants, were all encouraged, part by Marius, but most of them by the hopes of peace, to write to their friends at Rome, in a very reflecting manner, upon the conduct of Metellus in the war; at the same time wishing Marius might be made general therein. Thus was he supported in his pretensions to the Consulship, by a very honourable interest made for him. At the same time too, the commons having baffled the nobility by the Mamilian law, were for raising your upstart gentlemen. And thus all things went on Marius's side.

LXX. In the mean time Jugurtha, having dropped his intention of surrendering, and renew'd the war, was making preparations for it with all possible application and expedition, and raising an army. He endeavour'd too, partly by threats, and partly by promises, to engage the cities, which had revolted from him, to return to their allegiance; was busy in fortifying places; in making or buying up arms of all sorts, and other things, which he had parted with, in hopes of peace. He likewise attempted to wheedle over to him the Roman slaves, and tampered, by the influence of his money, to engage such as were in garrisons to betray the towns to him. In short, he left no means untried for his defence, but pushed at all. Wherefore some of the principal inhabitants of Vacca, wherein Metellus had put a garrison

luntate

luntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant; nam vulgus, uti plerumque solet, & maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum, atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti & otio adversum; dein, compositis inter se rebus, in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam, ludum, & lasciviam magis, quam formidinem, ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones, tribunosque militaris, & ipsum præfectum oppidi T. Turpilius Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant; eos omnis, præter Turpilius, inter epulas obtruncant; postea milites palantis, inermis, quippe in tali die, ac sine imperio aggrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta, consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse, & res novæ satis placebant.

LXXI. Romani milites, improvise metu, incerti ignarique, quod potissimum facerent, trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa, & scuta erant; præsidium hostium, por-

son, when Jugurtha made an offer of submitting, being wearied out by the solicitations of the King, and indeed not disaffected to him before; the heads of them enter into a conspiracy for betraying the town. For the common people, according to their usual temper, especially among the Numidians, were fickle, seditious, and contentious, fond of change, and enemies to peace and quietness. These gentlemen having formed their plot, pitched upon the third day after for the execution of it, because that being a festival much observed throughout all Africa, naturally gave occasion to expect mirth and jollity, and nothing of terrour, at such a time. When the day was come, they invite the Centurions and Tribunes, with the governor of the town, T. Turpilius Silanus, to their houses, one one, and another another of them, and murdered them all during the feast, excepting Turpilius; after which they fall upon the soldiers, dispersed about town, and unarmed, being holiday, and consequently under no command. The commonalty too do the like, part of them at the instigation of the nobility, and others out of a fondness for the work; who, tho' they knew not well what was doing, or the design, yet liked the commotion, and the novelty of the thing.

LXXI. The Roman soldiers, upon this unexpected alarm, being in great doubt and uncertainty what course to take, ran in great hurry to the citadel of the town, where their standards and shields were; but found the gates shut,



tæ ante clausæ fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis ædificiorum saxa, & alia, quæ locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque a fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse; juxta boni, malique, strenui, & imbelles inulti obtruncati. In ea tanta asperitate, sævissimis Numidis, & oppido undique clauso, Turpilius præfectus unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus; id misericordia ne hospitis, an pactione, an casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo, turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus instabilisque videtur. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vaccæ actis comperit, paullisper mœstus e conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira, & ægritudo permixta sunt, cum maxuma cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, & quam plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit; & postera die, circiter horam tertiam, pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, & jam ab-

and a guard posted to prevent their getting in. Besides, the women and children upon the tops of the houses, plied them off with stones, and ought else that came to hand. In this double distress, it was impossible for them to take any proper measures for their own security; nor could the bravest resist the weakest. The courageous and the cowardly, the vigorous and unactive, perished all alike unrevengeed. In this dismal case, the Numidians breathing nothing but destruction, and the gates being all close, Turpilius the governor was the only man of all the Italians, that got safe off; whether thro' the compassion of the person that entertained him, by compact, or chance, does not appear. But however, as in the common calamity, he preferred a scandalous life before his honour, he must, I think, pass for a detestable scoundrel. When Metellus heard of the transactions at Vacca, he was so much affected, that for some time he declined all company; but at last resentment mixing with his sorrow, his mind was wholly taken up with the thoughts of revenge. Accordingly he draws out the legion he wintered with, and as many light Numidian horse, as he could get together, about sun-set; and the next day, by three of the clock, he came into a plain, enclosed on all sides with rising ground. There the soldiers being much fatigued with their march, and now refusing to obey orders, he tells them, that the town of Vacca was not above a mile off; and that they  
nuentis

nuentis omnia, docet oppidum Vaccam non amplius mille passuum abesse; decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis, atque miserrimis, pœnas caperent. Præterea prædam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo latere, pedites quam arctissime ire, & signa occultare jubet.

LXXII. Vaccenses ubi animadvertere ad se vorum exercitum pergere; primo, uti res erat, Metellum esse rati, portas claudere; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, & eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident; rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii vulgum effusum oppido cedere; alii ad portas festinare; pars turres capere; ira, atque spes prædæ amplius, quam lassitudo, posse. Ita Vaccenses biduum modo ex perfidia lætati; civitas magna, & opulens, pœnæ cuncta aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius, quem præfectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse, supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello causam dicere; postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus,

ought to bear with patience the little remaining fatigue, to take vengeance for the murder of their brave, but unhappy, countrymen. At the same time, he civilly made them an offer of the plunder of the place. The hearing of this putting new life into them, he orders the horse to advance first, and the foot to follow after in close array, concealing their standards.

LXXII. The Vaccensians, upon the first discovery of an army coming against them, supposing it to be Metellus, as it was, shut their gates; but perceiving no ravage made, and that those in the van were Numidian horse; concluding that Jugurtha was there, they sally out to meet him with great joy. Whereupon both horse and foot, upon a sudden signal given, some made havock of the mob that came from the town, whilst others hastened to the gates, and others got into the towers upon the wall; and now their passion, and the hopes of plunder, made them forget all their fatigue. Thus the Vaccensians, a great and wealthy people, after a joy of two days continuance for the success of their late treachery, were all either put to the sword, or plundered. Turpilius the governor of the town, who, we have already said, was the only one that made his escape, was called before a court martial by Metellus; where making but a poor defence, he was sentenced to die, and being first lashed, was

verbe-

verberatusque, capite pœnas solvit; nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXXIII. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha dediti-  
onem, quam metu defe-  
ruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, & ipse eum suspici-  
ens, novas res cupere; ad  
perniciem ejus dolum  
quærere; diu noctuq; fa-  
tigare animum; denique,  
omnia tentando, socium  
sibi adjungit Nabdalsa, hominem nobilem, mag-  
nis opibus clarum, accep-  
tumque popularibus suis;  
qui plerumque seorsum  
ab rege exercitum ducta-  
re, & omnis res exsequi  
solitus erat, quæ Jugur-  
thæ fessio, aut majoribus  
adstricto, superaverant;  
ex quo illi gloria, opesque  
inventæ. Igitur utriusque  
consilio dies insidiis sta-  
tuitur; cætera, ut res  
posceret, ex tempore pa-  
rari placuit. Nabdalsa ad  
exercitum profectus;  
quem inter hiberna Ro-  
manorum jussus habebat,  
ne ager inultis hostibus  
vastaretur. Is postquam,  
magnitudine facinoris  
perculsus, ad tempus non  
venit; metusque rem  
impediebat; Bomilcar si-  
mul cupidinibus incepta  
patrandi, & timore focii  
anxius, ne, omisso vetere  
consilio, novum quære-  
ret; litteras ad eum per

afterwards beheaded. For he was  
a Roman only with the privilege  
of Latio.

LXXIII. About the same time  
Bomilcar, at whose instigation Ju-  
gurtha had begun to make a sur-  
render of his kingdom, which de-  
sign he afterwards relinquished  
through fear, being suspected by  
the King, and himself suspicious of  
him, out of a desire to get rid of  
him, was wracking his invention  
day and night, in the contrivance  
of a plot for his destruction; and  
after a variety of projects for the  
purpose, at last engages Nabdalsa  
in the design, a nobleman of great  
estate and interest in his country;  
who used generally to command an  
army apart from the King, and  
take charge of such affairs rela-  
ting to the war, as the King was  
at any time too much fatigued to  
attend upon in person, or prevent-  
ed from so doing by business of high-  
er concern; by which means he had  
acquired to himself great glory,  
and a vast estate. Wherefore by  
joint consent, a day was fix'd for  
the execution of their plot; the  
manner whereof was to be regula-  
ted according to the exigency of the  
time. Upon this, Nabdalsa went  
to the army; which, by order of  
the King, he had within the ene-  
my's winter-quarters, in order to  
oppose or revenge any ravage of  
theirs in the country. But he stag-  
gering at the greatness of the un-  
dertaking, and fearful of the is-  
sue, came not at the time appoint-  
ed; which prevented the execution  
of the design. Whereupon Bomil-  
car, as well from an eager desire



## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 169

homines fidelis mittit; in  
queis molliem, socor-  
diamque viri accusare;  
testari Deos, per quos  
juravisset; monere, ne  
præmia Metelli in pestem  
converteret; Jugurthæ  
exitium adesse; cæterum,  
sua ne, an virtute Metelli  
periret, id modo agitari;  
proinde reputaret cum a-  
nimo suo, præmia an cru-  
ciatum mallet.

their common destruction; that Jugurtha was on the brink  
of ruin; but whether that was to be effected by their resolu-  
tion, or that of Metellus, was the only thing they were to  
consider. Wherefore he would do well to think with himself,  
which he would make choice of, rewards, or a cruel death.

LXXIV. Sed cum hæ  
litteræ adlatæ, forte Nab-  
dalsa, exercito corpore  
fessus, in lecto quiescebat.  
Ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris  
verbis, primo cura, dein-  
de, uti ægrum animum  
solet, somnus cepit. Erat  
ei Numida quidam nego-  
tiorum curator, fidus, ac-  
ceptusque, & omnium  
consiliorum, nisi novissu-  
mi, particeps. Qui post-  
quam allatas litteras au-  
divit, ex consuetudine  
ratus opera, aut ingenio  
suo opus esse, in taberna-  
culum introit; dormi-  
ente illo, epistolam, su-  
per caput in pulvino te-  
mere positam, sumit, ac  
perlegit; dein propere;  
cognitis insidiis, ad regem  
pergit. Nabdalsa, post  
paullo expectatus, ubi  
neque epistolam reperit,

of accomplishing his purpose, as  
also from a concern at the timorous-  
ness of his friend, lest he, drop-  
ping their former design, should en-  
gage in a new one to his destruction,  
dispatches a letter to him by some  
confidants; in which he upbraided  
him with cowardice, and want of  
spirit; called the Gods, by whom  
they had sworn, to witness against  
him; and advised him to have a  
care of turning the rewards they  
had to expect from Metellus, to

LXXIV. When this letter came  
to the hands of Nabdalsa, he hap-  
pened to be resting himself upon  
the bed after a fatigue of exercise.  
Upon reading of it, he was full of  
perplexity; and after he had wea-  
ried himself with musing upon the  
matter, as it often happens in such  
cases, he fell asleep. He had a  
faithful servant, a Numidian,  
much entrusted by him in the ma-  
nagement of his affairs, highly in  
his favour, and acquainted with  
all his designs, excepting the last.  
Who, upon hearing a letter was  
brought for his master, supposing  
he might, as usual, have occasion  
for his service or advice upon it,  
entered his tent; and finding him  
asleep, takes the letter, that was  
carelessly laid above his head upon  
his pillow, and reads it. Having  
by this means discovered the plot,  
he goes in all haste to the King.  
Nabdalsa awaking soon after, mis-  
sed his letter, and being informed

& rem omnem, uti acta erat, ex perfugis cognovit; primo indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia, accedit; dicit quæ ipse paravisset facere, perfidia clientis sui præventum; lacrumans obtestatur per amicitiam, perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet.

LXXV. Ad ea rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare, aliisque multis, quos socios infidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram oppresserat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthæ dies, aut nox ulla quieta fuit; neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere; civis, hostis juxta metuere; circumspectare omnia, & omni strepitu pavescere; alio, atque alio loco sæpe contra decus regium, noctu requiescere; interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere; ita formidine, quasi vecordia exagitari.

LXXVI. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris, & indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit; rursus tanquam ad integrum bellum cuncta pa-

by some deserters, of what had passed, he first of all endeavoured to overtake the informer; but finding he could not do that, he goes himself to the King, in order to mollify him; telling him, that he had been prevented in what he designed to do himself, by the perfidiousness of his servant; and with tears beseeches him by his favour for him, and the merit of his former services, not to suspect him.

LXXV. The King dissembling the real sentiments of his mind, gave him a kind answer. And then putting Bomilcar, and many others he found concerned with him in the plot, to death, suppressed his resentment against Nabdalsa, for fear of an insurrection in his favour. From this day forward Jugurtha had no quiet day or night, as not knowing how to trust himself in any place or company, and fearing his subjects and enemies all alike. He was ever looking round him, affrighted with the least noise, and rested a-nights, sometimes in one place, sometimes another, unbecoming a prince. Sometimes he would start suddenly, in great disorder, out of his sleep, and take to his arms; and was haunted with his fears to distraction.

LXXVI. When Metellus heard by some deserters, of the fate of Bomilcar, and the discovery of the plot, he makes, in all haste, fresh preparations for the renewal of the war. And as Marius was per-  
rat,

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rat, festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profecti-  
one, simul & invitum,  
& offensum sibi parum  
idoneum ratus, domum  
dimittit. Et Romæ ple-  
bes, litteris, quæ de Me-  
tello ac Mario missæ  
erant, cognitis, volenti  
animo de ambobus acce-  
perant. Imperatori no-  
bilitas, quæ antea decori  
fuerat, invidiæ esse; at  
illi alteri generis humilitas  
favorem addiderat; cæ-  
terum in utroque magis  
studia partium, quam bo-  
na, aut mala sua, mode-  
rata. Præterea seditiosi  
magistratus vulgum exa-  
gitare, Metellum omni-  
bus concionibus capitis  
arcessere, Marii virtutem  
in majus celebrare. De-  
nique plebes sic accensa,  
uti opifices, agrestisque  
omnis, quorum res, fides-  
que in manibus sitæ erant,  
relictis operibus frequen-  
tarent Marium, & sua  
necessaria post illius hono-  
rem ducerent. Ita per-  
culsa nobilitate, post  
multas tempestates, novo  
homini Consulatus man-  
datur; & postea populus  
a tribuno plebis Manlio  
Mantino rogatus, quem  
vellet cum Jugurtha bel-  
lum gerere, frequens Ma-  
rium jussit. Sed senatus  
paullo ante Metello Nu-  
midiam decreverat, ea res  
frustra fuit.

*petually soliciting him for his dis-  
charge, and he thought he would  
be of small service to him, if de-  
tained against his will, and out of  
humour, he sends him home. At  
Rome too, when the commons came  
to know the contents of the letters  
relating to Metellus and Marius,  
they were well pleased with the  
treatment of both. The general's  
noble descent, which before had  
been an ornament to him, now ex-  
posed him to the hatred of the peo-  
ple; whilst the low birth of the  
other procured him their favour.  
But party-rage prevailed more in  
the case of both, than their own  
good or bad qualities. Besides,  
some factious magistrates inflamed  
the popular heat, by charging Me-  
tellus, in all their harangues, with  
capital crimes, and magnifying pro-  
digiously the great conduct of Ma-  
rius. In short, the people were so  
fired, that the mechanicks in town,  
with the boors from the country,  
whose substance and credit lay all  
in their daily labour, quitting their  
several employments, gave constant  
attendance upon Marius, and post-  
poned their own necessary concerns  
to his honour. The nobility being  
by this means quite dispirited, af-  
ter much bustle, the Consulship is  
put into the hands of this upstart  
gentleman Marius. And by a bill,  
which the tribune of the commons,  
Manlius Mantinus, preferred to  
the people, in a full assembly, he  
was ordered to manage the war  
with Jugurtha. The Senate indeed  
had a little before voted the pro-  
vince of Numidia for Metellus,  
but all in vain.*



LXXVII. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis, quorum plebsque ipse necaverat, cæteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant; cum neque bellum geri sine ministris posset, novorumque fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabatur. Neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat; itinera, præfectosque in dies mutare; modo adversum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere; sæpe in fuga, at post paullo spem in armis habere; dubitare, virtuti an fidei popularium minus crederet. Ita, quocumque intenderat, res adversæ erant. Sed inter eas moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidæ ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati, instructique; dein prælium incipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum; cæteri omnes ejus milites primo congressu pulsi, fugatique; Romani signorum, & armorum, & aliquanto numero hostium potiti. Nam ferme Numidas in omnibus præliis magis pedes, quam arma, tuta sunt.

LXXVII. *In the mean time, Jugurtha having lost all his friends, the greatest part of them being put to death by himself, and the rest, for fear of the like fate, flying over to the Romans, or King Bocchus, being not in a condition to carry on the war without ministers, or proper assistants; and thinking it dangerous, after the perfidious usage he had met with from his old friends, to try the faith of new ones, he was in vast perplexity and uncertainty what to do. Nothing, no advice, nobody could please him. He changed his marches, and the governours of towns, every day. Sometimes he advanced against the enemy; sometimes he made off into the deserts. He oftentimes placed his hopes in flight, and presently after in his arms; being in doubt whether the courage, or the fidelity of his subjects, was less to be confided in. Thus, turn his thoughts which way he would, all things seemed to be against him. Whilst he was in this wavering condition, on a sudden Metellus appears with his army. The Numidians were put in order of battle, and drawn up, as well as the shortness of the time would allow; after which the fight begun; which continued some time, where the King was personally present; but the rest of the army was routed and put to flight, at the very first shock. The Romans took all their standards and arms, with a small number of prisoners. For in almost all the battles that were fought, their heels secured the Numidians more than their arms.*

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LXXVIII. Ea fuga Jugurtha impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis, & parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, id oppidum magnum, & opulentum; ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiæ cultus erat. Quæ postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum, in spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida, atque vasta esse cognoverat; tamen spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levare jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem; cæterum utres modo, & alia aquæ idonea portari. Præterea conquirat ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris; eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitimis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquæ portaret; diem, locumque, ubi præsto forent, prædicat. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximam oppido aquam esse supra diximus, jumenta operat. Eo mo-

LXXVIII. *After this defeat, Jugurtha despairing more than ever of success, got off with some deserters, and a part of the horse, into the deserts, from whence he came to Thala, a great and wealthy town; where most of his treasure lay, and his sons were generally educated. Upon advice of which, Metellus, tho' all the country betwixt Thala and the next river, of fifty miles extent, was dry and waste; yet in hopes of finishing the war, if he could but make himself master of that town, he resolves to encounter all manner of hardships, and conquer even nature itself. Wherefore he orders all the beasts of burden to be eased of all other luggage, in order to carry corn sufficient for ten days, with leathern bottles, and other vessels proper to put up water in. Moreover, he picks up out of the country as many horses, and the like animals that had been broke, as he could; and loads them with vessels of all kinds, but mostly of wood, taken out of the cottages of the Numidians. Besides, he orders the neighbouring people, who, after the defeat of the King, had submitted to Metellus, to carry every one of them as much water as they could; and appoints time and place for their rendezvous. He loads the beasts of carriage out of the river, which, we have above said, was the nearest water to the town. Being thus provided, away he marches for Thala; and when he was arrived at the place, where he had appointed the Numidians to meet him, and the camp was pitched, and fortified*  
do

do instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde ubi ad id loci ventum, quod Numidis præceperat; & castra posita, munitaque sunt; tanta repente cœlo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea commeatus spe amplior; quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Cæterum milites, religione, pluvia magis usi; eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese Diis immortalibus curæ esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare; idem nostri facere.

LXXIX. Sed rex nihil jam Metello infectum credens, quippe qui omnia arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, cæteris imperitantem, industria vice rat, cum liberis, & magna parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit; neque postea in ullo loco amplius una die, aut una nocte moratus, simulabat, sese negotii gratia properare; cæterum prodicionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat. Nam

*ed, there fell such a vast quantity of rain, they tell you, that that alone would have been sufficient for the army, and more than sufficient. And provisions too were brought in greater plenty than was expected; because the Numidians, like most other people after a submission, had executed the orders given them, with extraordinary care. But the soldiers, from a superstitious whim, chose rather to use the rain, than river-water; and the thing animated them exceedingly; because they supposed by that, the immortal Gods took care of them. The day following, contrary to Jugurtha's expectation, they arrived at Thala. The towns-people, who imagined themselves sufficiently secured by the adjoining wilderness, being surprized at so great and uncommon an event, did, notwithstanding, prepare for a vigorous defence; as our men did, on the other hand, for the attack.*

LXXIX. *But the King thinking now nothing impossible for Metellus, as who had by his industry conquered arms, places, times, and finally, nature itself, that rules over all things else; fled out of the town in the night-time, with his children, and a great part of his money; and never after stay'd above one day, or one night, in the same place; pretending himself to be upon business that required haste. But indeed he was afraid of being betrayed, which he hoped to prevent by his expedition; because such designs are usually hatched by virtue of those advantages, which a*  
talia



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talia consilia per otium & ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus ubi oppidanos prælio intentos, simul oppidum & operibus, & loco munitum videt, vallo, fossaque mœnia circumvenit. Deinde jubet locis ex copia maxime idoneis vineas agere; superque eas aggerem jacere, & super aggerem impositis turribus opus & administratos tutari. Contra hæc oppidani festinare, parare; prorsus ab utriusque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore, præliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti; præda omnis a perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri, resque suas afflictas vident, aurum, atque argentum, & alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant; ibi vino, & epulis onerati, illaque, & domum, & semet igni corrumpunt; & quas victi ab hostibus pœnas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes uti præsidium præfectumque eo mitteret; Hamilcarem quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; adversum

time of ease and rest affords. Metellus finding the towns-people resolved upon the defence of the place, and that it was well secured both by nature and art, draws a line of circumvallation quite round; and then orders his men to push up their vineæ in such places, as would most conveniently admit of them, to cast up a mount, and from towers erected thereupon, to defend the works, and those concerned therein. On the other hand, the townsmen were not idle, but provided all things for their defence. In short, nothing was left unattempted on either side. At length the Romans within forty days after they came before the place, with a world of fatigue and hard fighting, made themselves masters of it. But the plunder was all destroyed by the Roman deserters in town. For they, as soon as they found the rams begun to play upon the wall, and what a desperate case they were in, carry the gold and silver, and every thing else that was valuable, to the royal palace; and there, after they had glutted themselves with wine and good cheer, they destroyed all the treasure, and themselves too, by setting fire to the house; and voluntarily inflicted upon themselves the punishment, they apprehended from the enemy, if they fell into their hands. Just at the juncture when Thala was taken, some deputies came from the town of Leptis to Metellus, begging of him to send a garrison and a governor thither; that one Hamilcar there, a person of great birth and interest, was in a plot against the  
quem

*quem neque imperia magistratum, neque leges valerent; ni id festinaret in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore.* Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam Consulem; & postea Romam miserant, amicitiam, societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni, fidelesque mansere; & cuncta a Bestia, Albino, Metelloque imperata navi fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quæ petebant, adepti. Emissæ eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor, & Caius Annius præfectus.

LXXX. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civilis navibus in eos locos venisse; cæterum situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt finus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura; quorum proxuma terræ præalta sunt; cætera, uti fors tulit alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, & fævere cœpit ventis, limum arenamque, & saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt; ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. *Syrtis ab tractu nominata.* Ejus civitatis lingua

government, and was like to be too strong for the magistrates and laws; unless he dispatch'd away the assistance forthwith, they, the allies of the Romans, would be in the utmost danger. *For the Leptitani, at the very beginning of the war with Jugurtha, had sent first to the Consul Bestia, and afterwards to Rome, to desire our friendship and alliance; and their request being granted, they remained true and trusty ever after; and punctually executed all orders received from Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus. Wherefore they found from the general a ready compliance with their desires. Four battalions of Ligurians were sent thither, under the command of C. Annius.*

LXXX. That town was built by the Sidonians, who, as tradition says, being obliged by civil broils at home to leave their native country, came by shipping into those parts. It is situated betwixt the two Syrtes, which are so called from the nature of them. For they are two bays almost in the extremity of Africa, unequal in bigness, but of like nature; whereof the parts nigh the shore are very deep; the rest are some deep, some shallow, especially much so in a storm. For when the sea begins to swell, and grow boisterous by the winds, the waves drag the mud, sand, and huge stones about, whereby the appearance of the places is perpetually changing with the wind; and from this dragging they are called Syrtes. The language of that town has undergone an alteration from  
moda

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modo conversa connubio Numidarum ; legum, cultusque pleraque Sidonica ; quæ eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos, & frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

LXXXI. Sed, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur, egregium, atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginensium memorare ; eam rem nos locus admonuit. Quæ tempestate Cyrthaginenses pleræque Africæ imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni, atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie ; neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret ; quæ res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes sæpe fusæ, fugatæque, & alteri alteros aliquantum attriverant ; veriti, ne mox victos, victoresque defessos alius aggredieretur, per inducias sponsonem faciunt, *uti certo die legati domo profiscerentur ; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur.* Igitur Carthagine

*their inter-marriages with the Numidians ; but most things in their laws, and way of living, are derived from the Sidonians ; which they retained the more easily, because of their being at so great a distance from the power and influence of the King of Persia. Betwixt them, and the well-inhabited parts of Numidia, lies a huge desert.*

LXXXI. *But since we are got into these parts, upon occasion of mentioning the Leptitani, I think it may not be amiss to give an account of an extraordinary wonderful action performed by two Carthaginians ; which the mention of Leptis puts me in mind of. At the time the Carthaginians ruled over the greatest part of Africa, the Cyrenians were a great and wealthy people. The country lying betwixt them and the Carthaginians was all sandy, without variety or distinction ; of one uniform appearance ; having neither river nor mountain, to fix the limits of each dominion ; which thing proved the occasion of a terrible and tedious war. After great losses had been sustained on each side by land, and by sea, to the weakening of both ; fearing lest some third people should fall upon the conquered and conquerors together, when weary, they came to a cessation of arms, and thereupon an agreement, that deputies should, upon a day appointed, depart from each place ; and where they met, should be the common boundary of their dominions. Accordingly two brothers, called Philænis, were sent from Carthage, who made their journey*  
Z duo



duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere; Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id focordiane, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Cæterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus, atque in mari retinere. Nam, ubi per loca æqualia, & nuda gignentium, ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata, ora, oculosque implere solet; ita prospectu impedito, morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se esse vident, & ob rem corruptam domi pœnas metunt; criminari Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos; conturbare rem; denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed cum Pœni aliam conditionem, tantummodo æquam, peterent, Græci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, ut vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros; Philæni, conditione probata, seque, vitamque suam reipublicæ condonavere; ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philænis fratribus honores instituti. Nunc

LXXXII. Jugurtha postquam, amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra

with all due dispatch. But the Cyrenians were not so quick; whether through laziness, or some ill chance, I do not find. For in those parts, a storm will detain travellers as effectually, as by sea. A wind arising upon that level and naked soil, heaves up the sand, and with great violence drives it in their faces and eyes; and so preventing their seeing the way before them, stops them. When the Cyrenians found themselves behind the other, fearing to be punished at home for their misconduct, they charged the Carthaginians with setting out before the time appointed for it; making a mighty bustle upon it, as being willing to do any thing, rather than go off baffled. The Carthaginians desiring any other way of deciding the matter, that was fair and equal, the Greeks made them this proposal, either to be buried alive there, where they were for fixing the boundary of their dominion, or that they would advance as far as they thought proper, upon the like condition. The Philæni accepting the offer, made a sacrifice of themselves, and their lives, to their country; and were buried alive. The Carthaginians dedicated altars in that place to the memory of the two brothers, the Philæni; and instituted several other honours to be paid to them at home. But now to my purpose again.

aras consecravere; aliique illis domi

LXXXII. Jugurtha, after the loss of Thala, thinking nothing sufficiently secure against Metellus, fled Me-

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Metellum putat; per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos, genus hominum ferum, incultumque, & eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit; ac paullatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Præterea regis Bocchi proximos magis muneribus, & majoribus promissis ad studium sui perducit; queis adjutoribus regem adgressus, impellit, uti adversum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id ea gratia facilius, proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romanam miserat, fœdus, & amicitiam petitem. Quam rem opportunissimam incepto belli, pauci impediverant, cæci avaritia, queis omnia honesta, atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas, Maurosque levis ducitur; quia singuli pro opibus, quisque quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed reges eo amplius. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur; nullam pro socia obtinet; pariter omnes viles sunt.

*with a small retinue, through vast deserts, into the land of the Gætulians, a wild unpolished people, unacquainted with the Roman name. He musters up a great number of them, and teaches them to form companies, follow their standards, observe command, and to behave in all respects like soldiers. He likewise by great presents, and greater promises, engages in his interest some of the greatest favourites of King Bocchus, by whose assistance he at last prevails with the King to undertake a war against the Romans. Which was the more easily brought about, because Bocchus, in the beginning of this war, had sent ambassadors to Rome, to treat upon an alliance with the Roman people. Which thing, tho' likely to prove of singular service in the war, yet some gentlemen, blinded with avarice, who were ready for any kind of work, honourable, or otherwise, if they were but well paid for it, had obstructed. Bocchus's daughter had likewise before this been married to Jugurtha. But the tie of affinity is little regarded amongst the Numidians, and Moors; because with them every man may have as many wives as he can maintain; and accordingly some have ten, others more; but the Kings more than any body. Thus the mind being divided by the number, they look upon none as a friend or companion; but treat them all with contempt alike.*

LXXXIII. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt ; ibi, fide data, & accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit ; Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia, communes omnium hostis esse ; eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum, & cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitanti, queis omnia regna adversa sint ; tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginenses, item Regem Persen, post, uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore. His, atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt ; quod ibi Q. Metellus prædam, captivosque, & impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut capta urbe, operæ pretium fore ; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, prælio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere ; ne, moras agitando, aliud, quam bellum, mallet.

LXXXIV. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque uti sæpe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit ; cæ-

LXXXIII. *Wherefore the two armies meet in a place appointed by the Kings ; where, after they had pledged their faith to one another, Jugurtha fired the soul of Bocchus, by talking to the following effect ; That the Romans were an unjust people, of insatiable avarice, and the common enemies of mankind. They had just as much cause of war with Bocchus, as with himself, and other nations, the lust of dominion, for the sake of which they looked upon all Kings as enemies. At that time he was ; not long before the Carthaginians, and King Perses, had been their enemies ; and so would every prince hereafter be, especially of considerable power and strength. After he had said this, and other things to the like purpose, they resolve to march together to the town of Cirta ; because Q. Metellus had there lodged the booty and prisoners he had taken in the war, together with the baggage of the army. Jugurtha supposed the enterprize would either be well worth their while, if they took the city ; or, if the Romans came to the assistance of their friends, a battle must ensue. For he slyly endeavoured, with all the haste he could, to break the peace betwixt Bocchus and the Romans ; lest, upon demurring, he should change his mind.*

LXXXIV. *When the Roman general heard of this alliance betwixt the two Kings, he does not upon all occasions, and in all places, as before, after Jugurtha had been several times defeated, offer the enemy battle ; but pitching his*  
terum,



terum, haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis, reges opperitur; melius esse ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam. Nam Consulem factum ante acceperat. Quibus rebus supra bonum, aut honestum perculsus, neque lacrimas tenere, neque moderari linguam; vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis molliter ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant; alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse; multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur; nobis satis cognitum est, illum magis honore Marii, quam injuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii, quam Mario, traderetur.

LXXXV. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, & quia stultitiæ videbatur, alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulat, ne sine causa hostis populo Romano fieret; habere eum magnam copiam societatis, amicitiaeque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello esset; quam-

camp not far from Cirta, he waits for the Kings; thinking it not proper to engage with the Moors, an enemy he was not yet acquainted with, but upon some advantage. In the mean time, he had notice by letters from Rome, that the province of Numidia was assigned to Marius. For he had heard before, that he was made Consul. With which things he was prodigiously affected, to a degree inconsistent with all equity and decency; insomuch that he could neither refrain from tears, or govern his tongue; and tho' he was an extraordinary person in other respects, yet under trouble of mind he was too impatient; which some imputed to his pride; others to a just resentment of the contumelious usage he had; many to a concern, that the victory he had got, should be snatched out of his hands. But it appears pretty plain to me, that he was more disturbed at the advancement of Marius, than the injury done to himself; and would not have born it so heavily, if the province that was taken from him, had been given to any body else but Marius.

LXXXV. Wherefore, as well upon account of this resentment, as because it seemed a folly to take care of another man's business, at his own hazard, he dispatches messengers to Bocchus, to desire he would not become an enemy to the Roman people, without any occasion given for it. That he had now a fine opportunity of entering into the Roman alliance, which would be much better for him than a war.

quam

*quam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare; omne bellum sumi facile, cæterum ægerrime definire; non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus, & finem esse; incipere cuivis etiam ignavo licere; deponi, cum victores velint; proinde sibi, regnoque suo consuleret; neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthæ perditis misceret. Ad ea rex placide verba facit; sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthæ fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura. Rursus imperator, contra postulata Bocchi, nuncios mittit. Ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo, sæpe ab utroque missis remisissisque nunciis, tempus procedere, & ex Metelli voluntate bellum intactum trahi.*

LXXXVI. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe Consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus, atque ferox instare; singulos modo, modo universos lædere; dictitare, sese Consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse; alia præterea magnifica pro se, & illis dolentia; interim, quæ bello

What confidence soever he might repose in his own strength, yet he ought not to change certainties for uncertainties. That it was an easy matter to begin a war, but not so easy to end it; since the beginning and ending thereof were not in the same hands. Any coward might begin; but the end must depend upon the pleasure of the conqueror. Wherefore he advised him to have a care of doing any thing, that might affect the security of his person and kingdom; and not engage his happy circumstances in the desperate cause of Jugurtha. *To this the King made a very smooth reply; That he was desirous of peace, but pitied the case of Jugurtha; if he might but have the same terms, they should soon agree. Again, the Roman general sends messengers with an answer to Bocchus's demand; wherein something was granted, other things denied. And by sending messengers backward and forward in this manner, the time was spun out, and the war, as Metellus wished, kept at a stand.*

LXXXVI. But Marius, as was said above, having been made Consul by the people with a very extraordinary zeal, and got by their grant too the province of Numidia, was now more violent and furious against the nobility than ever, tho' he was keen enough in that way before. Sometimes he would reflect upon them singly, sometimes upon the whole body; and would often say, that he had vanquished them, and had taken from them the Consulship, as spoil from a conquered enemy. *And other things too he*  
opus

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opus erant, prima habere; postulare legionibus supplementum; auxilia a populis, & regibus, sociisque arcessere; præterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerisque militia, paucos fama cognitos accire, & ambiendo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis proficisci. Neque illi Senatus, quamquam adversus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; cæterum supplementum etiam lætus decreverat; quia, neque plebi militiam volenti, putabatur, & Marius aut belli usum, aut studium vulgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata. Tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerisque invaserat; sese quisque præda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujusmodi animis trahebant; & eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arrexe-  
rat. Nam postquam, omnibus, quæ postulaverat, decretis, milites scribere vult, hortandi causa, simul & nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXVII. Scio ego, Quirites, plerisque non

said boastingly of himself, and that heartily vex'd them. But the making of due preparations for the war, was his principal care. He demanded recruits for the army; sent for auxiliary forces from Kings and states in alliance with us; particularly from Latium he summoned the choicest men, most of them known well enough in the army, but few elsewhere. He did likewise by his persuasions prevail with old soldiers, that had served up their time in the wars, to engage in the service again. And tho' the Senate hated him, yet they durst refuse him nothing; nay, they were forward enough to vote him recruits; because it was supposed the commonalty would not much care for the service; and so Marius would either not be able to make his levies, or incur their displeasure by so doing. But herein they were balked; so fond were most of them of going along with Marius; each man flattering himself with the hopes of returning home victorious, and enriched with the spoils of war, or of other such like advantages. And Marius had, by a speech of his to them, contributed not a little to the raising of such expectations in them. For resolving, after what he desired had been voted for him, to raise recruits, he summoned the people to an assembly, as well to encourage them to favour his design, as to take occasion, according to his custom, of inveighing against the nobility. Both which he did in the following manner.

LXXXVII. I am sensible, gentlemen, that the generality of  
iisdem



*hisdem artibus imperium a vobis petero, & postquam adepti sunt, gerere; primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse; dehinc per ignaviam, & superbiam ætatem agere; sed mihi contra videtur. Nam, quo universa respublica pluris est, quam Consulatus, aut Prætura, eo majore cura illam administrari, quam hæc peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare, simul & ærario parcere; cogere ad militiam eos, quos nolis offendere; domi, forisque omnia curare; & ea agere inter invidos, occurrentis, factionis; opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum & affinium opes, multæ clientelæ, omnia hæc præsidio ad sunt; mihi spes omnes in memet sitæ; quas necesse est & virtute, & innocentia tutari; nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intelligo, Quirites, omnium ora in me conversa esse; æquos, bonosque favere; quippe benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt; nobilitatem locum invadendi quærere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum est; uti neque vos capiamini, & illi frustra sint. Ita*

such as apply to you for preferment in the state, behave not in the same manner, after they have compassed their designs, as before. At first they are industrious, submissive, and modest; after their advancement, lazy and proud. But I have quite different sentiments in the case. For as the good of the community is of much higher importance than the Consulate or Prætorship, with just so much the more care ought that to be pursued, than these. Nor am I insensible what a weight of business your late kindness has laid upon me. To make preparations for the war, and at the same time to be sparing of the publick money; to oblige those to the service abroad, that one is loth to offend; to take care for the due management of all affairs, both at home and abroad; and this amidst numbers of envious, thwarting, factionous people: All this, I say, Gentlemen, is difficult beyond imagination. Besides, others, if they fail in the performance of their duty, are protected by their quality, the gallant behaviour of their ancestors, the power of their relations and friends, and their own numerous dependents. But all my hopes are in myself. My good behaviour and integrity must be my only protection; for I have nothing else to trust to. I am well aware too, gentlemen, that the eyes of all people are upon me; that the just and the good are my friends, as being sensible of the services I have done my country; but that the nobility are watching all advanta-

ad

*ad hoc ætatis a pueritia fui, ut omnis labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quæ ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, accepta mercede, deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere; mihi, qui omnem ætatem in optumis artibus egi, bene facere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas ægerrime tulit. Quæso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutari melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiæ, ac multarum imaginum, & nullius stipendii; scilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet, summat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. Ita plerumque evenit; ut, quem vos imperare jussistis, is sibi imperatorem alium quærat.*

And so it commonly happens, that the person you have appointed to command, is obliged to get some body to command him.

LXXXVIII. *At ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam Consules facti sunt, acta majorum, & Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint; homines*

ges to be upon me. And therefore I am the more obliged to use my utmost endeavours, that you may not be balked, but they may. I have from my youth up been inured to hardship and danger of all kinds. Which before your favours conferred upon me, I did solely out of a principle of generosity, I shall not, to be sure, gentlemen, neglect to do, now that I have received my reward. It is a hard matter to those to keep within any bounds, when possessed of power, who, to obtain it, only put on a counterfeit shew of goodness. But with me, who have spent all my days in the practice of the most laudable qualities, use is become a second nature. You have commanded me to make war with Jugurtha, to the great vexation of the nobility. I beseech you, consider with yourselves, whether it would not be better, to send upon this, or any other the like occasion, one of the tribe of the nobility, a man of an ancient and noble family, and that has never been in the service of his country abroad: Ay, why not? He would, tho' frightened and confounded in the midst of business, for want of experience, get some of the commons to direct him in his duty.

LXXXVIII. I have, indeed, gentlemen, known some, who, after they were made Consuls, read the noble actions of our ancestors, with the military instructions laid down by the Greeks. Preposterous

*præposteri. Nam gerere, quam fieri, tempore posterius, re, atq; usu prius est. Comparete nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quæ illi audire, & legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quæ illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta, an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam. Mihi fortuna, illis probra obiectantur. Quamquam ego naturam unam, & communem omnium existumo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum. Ac si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiæ quæri posset, me ne, an illos ex se gigni maluerint; quid responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quam optimos voluisse? Quod si jure me despiciunt; faciant idem majoribus suis; quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cæpit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentia, periculis etiam meis; quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia, ita ætatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Næ illi falsi sunt, qui diversissimas res pariter ex-*

creatures! For the management of an office is indeed posteriour, in point of time, to the choice of the person to officiate; but with respect to the qualifications necessary for the same, it is prior to it. Compare me, gentlemen, the first of my family that has attained to any considerable station in the government, with your haughty nobles. What they are accustomed only to hear and read, I have in part seen, and in part managed myself in person. What they have learnt from books, the same I have learnt by serving in the wars. Now do you yourselves judge, whether actions or words are of more account. They despise the meanness of my descent; I despise their incapacity for business. I am upbraided with my fortune, they with their scandalous vices. Tho' I think the nature of man to be one and common to all, but that the bravest is the most noble. And if now the fathers of Albinus, or Bestia, could be consulted, whether they would rather have chosen me for their descendant, or them, what answer do you think they would make, but that they should have desired the most deserving men might have been their sons? But if they have reason to despise me, let them do the same by their ancestors, whose nobility, like mine, took it's rise from their noble behaviour. They envy my advancement; let them then envy my activity, my integrity, and dangers too; because it was by these I attained to the former. But men corrupted with pride,

*spectant,*



*ſpectant, ignaviae voluptatem, & præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in Senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores ſuos extollunt; eorum fortia facta memorando clariores ſeſe putant; quod contra eſt. Nam, quanto vita illorum præclarior, tanto horum ſocordia flagitioſior. Et proſecto ita ſeres habet; majorum gloria poſteris quaſi lumen eſt, neque bona eorum, neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites. Verum id, quod multo præclarius eſt, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui ſint. Quod ex aliena virtute ſibi arrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt; ſcilicet quia imagines non habeo, & quia mihi nova nobilitas eſt; quam certe peperiffe, quam acceptam corrupiſſe melius eſt.*

no images of my fore-elders to ſhew, and becauſe my nobility is of very late date; which it is certainly better for a man to be the founder of in his own family, than to be a diſgrace to that received from his anceſtors.

**LXXXIX.** *Equidem ego non ignoro, ſi jam mihi reſpondere velint, abunde illis facundam, & compositam orationem fore. Sed in maximo veſtro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me, voſque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reti-*

live as if they deſpiſed the honours you have to beſtow, and yet ſue for them, as if they had lived honourably. Truly, they are much miſtaken, who expect at once two things of very different nature, the pleaſure of idleneſs, and the rewards of virtue. And when they harangue too before you, or in the Senate, they are ever running out into the praiſes of their anceſtors, and think they receive a luſtre from the relation of their noble actions; whereas it is quite the reverſe. For the more illuſtrious their lives were, the more ſcandalous is the baſe behaviour of theſe their deſcendants. And indeed the caſe is thus. The glory of the ancients is a light held out before their poſterity, that ſuffers neither their good or ill qualities to be concealed. This is what I want, gentlemen. But I can tell you of ſomething elſe, which is much greater, my own actions. Now mind how unreaſonable they are. What they arrogate to themſelves from the noble behaviour of others, that they will not allow me to reap from my own; for no other reaſon truly, but that I have

**LXXXIX.** I know indeed; if they have a mind to reply upon me, they will find plenty of elegant polite language for the purpoſe. But however, ſince upon your late advancement of me to the high dignity I poſſeſs, they every where let looſe their tongues againſt both you and me in the

*tere; ne quis modestiam  
in conscientiam duceret.  
Nam me quidem, ex ani-  
mi mei sententia, læde-  
re nulla oratio potest.  
Quippe vera, necesse est  
bene prædicet; falsam,  
vita moresque mei supe-  
rant. Sed quoniam ve-  
stra consilia accusantur,  
qui mihi summum hono-  
rem, & maxumum nego-  
tium imposuistis; etiam  
atque etiam reputate, num  
eorum pœnitendum sit.  
Non possum, fidei causa,  
imagines, neque trium-  
phos, aut Consulatus ma-  
jorum meorum ostentare;  
at, si res postulet, hastas,  
vexillum, phaleras, alia  
militaria dona, præterea  
cicatrices adverso corpore.  
Hæ sunt meæ imagines,  
hæc nobilitas, non heredi-  
tate relicta, ut illa illis,  
sed quæ ego meis plurimis  
laboribus, & periculis  
quæsiui. Non sunt com-  
posita verba mea; parvi  
id faciò; ipsa se virtus  
satis ostendit; illis arti-  
ficio opus est, ut turpia  
facta oratione tegant.  
Neque litteras Græcas  
didici. Parum placebat  
eas discere, quippe quæ ad  
virtutem doctoribus nihil  
profuerunt. At illa multo  
optima reipublicæ doctus  
sum; hostem ferire, præ-  
sidia agitare, nihil me-  
tuere, nisi turpem fa-  
mam; hiemem, & æsta-*

vilest reproaches, I was resolved  
not to be silent; lest any one should  
take my modesty for an argument  
of guilt. For indeed, their lan-  
guage, in my opinion, cannot af-  
fect me; since, if what they say  
be true, it must be to my honour;  
but if false, my life and behaviour  
confute it. But because your con-  
duct is blamed, who have laid up-  
on me the greatest honour, and  
business of the highest importance,  
consider again and again, whether  
you have any occasion to repent  
what you have done. I cannot in-  
deed, to raise your confidence in  
me, boast of the images, triumphs,  
and Consulships of my ancestors;  
but, if occasion requires, I can  
shew you spears, a banner, horse-  
trappings, and other military pre-  
sents made me, with scars all over  
my body before. These are my  
images, this my nobility, not, like  
theirs, left me by inheritance; but  
procured by infinite hardships and  
dangers. My language is unpo-  
lish'd; that I little regard. My  
virtue, without words, shews it-  
self sufficiently. They stand in  
need of all the art of eloquence, to  
varnish over their infamous pranks.  
I never applied myself to the Græ-  
cian literature; nor did I care to  
learn that, which rendered not the  
teachers a whit the more virtuous  
or able men. But I have been in-  
structed in other things, highly  
conducive to the publick good;  
such as bravery and vigilance in  
war; to dread nothing but an in-  
famous character; to bear cold  
and heat; to lodge upon the  
ground; and endure, at the same

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*tem juxta pati, humi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam, & laborem tolerare. His ego præceptis milites hortabor; neque illos arte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, cum tute per mollietatem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est, dominum esse, non imperatorem. Hæc, atque alia majores vestri faciundo, sequere, & rempublicam celebrare. Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum æmulos contemnit; & omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos, a vobis repetit. Cæterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quæ licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui præclaram; virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant; ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur.*

XC. *Sordidum me, & incultis moribus ajunt; quia parum scite convivium exorno; neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum, quam villicum, habeo. Quæ mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites. Nam & ex parente meo, & ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem conve-*

time, hunger and fatigue. With these lessons shall I animate my soldiers. Nor shall I treat them hardly, but myself with indulgence, or make their toil the matter of my glory. This manner of command is useful and modest. For to keep the soldiery, by severity, to strict discipline, whilst you take your ease yourself, is to act the part of a tyrant, not a general. By this, and the like conduct, did your ancestors render themselves, and the Roman state, famous in the world; which our nobility depending upon, tho' nothing like them in their behaviour, despise us that follow their glorious example; and demand from you all places of power and trust, not upon the foot of merit, as having deserved them, but as other ways their due. But those haughty gentry are very widely mistaken. Their ancestors left them all they could; riches, images, and their own glorious memory. But did not leave them their noble qualities; nor could they. Those are neither given, nor received.

XC. They upbraid me as a rough unpolished mortal; because I am not nice in my entertainments, or have a player, or cook, of higher price than my steward; all which I very frankly own, gentlemen. For I have learnt from my father, and other excellent persons, that niceness belongs to women, rugged industry to men; and that the brave ought to excell more in glory, than riches; that  
*nire,*



nire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriæ, quam divitiarum esse, arma, non supellestem, decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum æstumant, id semper faciant; ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri, & turpissimæ parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem, & alia talia relinquunt nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam, ubi se omnibus flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum præmia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissime luxuria, & ignavia, pessimæ artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil efficiunt, rei publicæ innoxie cladis sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mei mores, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi; pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites; nam, quæ ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est locorum sciens, sed mehercule magis strenuus, quam felix; nam magna pars ejus avaritia, aut temeritate ducum attrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris est ætas,

arms, and not fine furniture, was an honour to such. Let them then ever mind what pleases them, what they hold so dear. Let them whore and drink; and let them spend their old days, as they did their young, in revelling, and pampering their bellies, and the vilest part about them. Let them leave sweat and dust, with other things of like kind, to us, who prefer them before all their fine entertainments. But this they will not do. For after those vilest of men have covered themselves with infamy, by the practice of the most scandalous vices, they will needs deprive the brave of the rewards that are their due. Thus, contrary to all justice, luxury and idleness, the worst of qualities, are no ways detrimental to those who practise them; at the same time that they prove of pernicious consequence to the innocent commonwealth. And now having answered them so far as my character, not their infamous behaviour, required; I shall add a word or two in relation to the present state of affairs. In the first place, as to Numidia, have a good heart, gentlemen; for you have removed all that hitherto secured Jugurtha; avarice, ignorance, and pride. There is an army there indeed acquainted with the country; but, upon my word, active, rather than fortunate. For the greatest part of it has been destroyed by the avarice or rashness of their commanders. Wherefore you that are of an age fit for war, join your endeavours with mine, and stand by the publick; nor let any one conceive any  
admi-

*adnitimimi mecum, & capeffite rempublicam, neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in prælio consultor idem, & socius periculi vobiscum adero; neque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, diis juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus; quæ si dubia, aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos reipublicæ subvenire decet. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus; neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni, honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto.*

XCI. Hujuscemodi oratione habita, Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliisque utilibus navis onerat; cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque libido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem Consulis memorabant; quod ab

apprehensions from the miscarriage of others, or the haughtiness of the commanders. I in march, in battle, will be your adviser; share every danger with you, and treat you, upon all occasions, no otherwise than I do myself. And indeed, with the help of the Gods, all things are now ready for you, victory, spoil, and glory; and tho' they were uncertain, and at a distance, yet would it become, nevertheless, all gallant men to support the cause of their country. For no man was ever rendered immortal by a lazy inactivity; nor did ever any father wish his sons might never die, but rather that they might live like brave and worthy men. I should say more, gentlemen, if words would put courage into cowards; for to the valiant, I think, I have said enough.

XCI. *Marius perceiving the spirits of the people to be much elevated by this speech of his, ships, with all haste, provisions, money, and other things requisite for the war; and orders his lieutenant-general, A. Manlius, to go along with them. In the mean time he levies troops, not according to former usage, nor out of the several classes of the people, but volunteers only, and most of them of the very lowest rank. Which, some say, he did for want of better; but others, that he did it to render himself still more popular; because he had been much cried up and advanced by that*

eo genere celebratus, auctusque erat; & homini potentiam quærenti elegantissimus quisque opportunissimus; cui neque sua curæ, quippe quæ nulla sunt, & omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum aliquanto majore numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus, paucis diebus Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato. Nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat; ne videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

XCII. Sed Consul, expletis legionibus, cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem, & præda onustum proficiscitur. Omnia ibi capta militibus donat; dein castella, & oppida natura, & viris parum munita adgreditur; prælia multa, cæterum alia levia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse; videre fugientis capi, aut occidi; fortissimum quemque tutissimum; armis libertatem, patriam, parentesque, & alia omnia tegi; gloriam, atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatio novi, veteresque coaluere, & virtus omnium æqualis facta. At reges ubi de adventu

sort of people; and to a man ambitious of power, the most needy are the most for his purpose; as who regard nothing of their own, having nothing to regard, and thinking every thing honourable, that is but gainful. Wherefore Marius setting sail for Africa, with a number of troops, somewhat larger than what had been voted for him, in a few days arrives at Utica. Where the army was delivered up to him by the lieutenant-general P. Rutilius. For Metellus declined coming near Marius, for fear of seeing those things, which he could not so much as bear with patience.

XCII. But the Consul having compleated his legions, and the auxiliary battalions, out of his new levies, directs his march into a fruitful country, full of plunder; where he made a present of all he took to the soldiers. Then he fell upon such forts and towns as were neither very strong, nor well garrisoned. He fought likewise several battles in different places, but not considerable. In the mean time, the new-raised men, from the easiness of the service, were under no apprehensions. They saw such as fled taken prisoners, or slain; whilst the bravest were still the safest. That liberty, their country, parents, and every thing else were secured, and glory and riches got, by arms. Thus, in a short time, the new and the old soldiers embodied, and were upon a par in point of courage. But the two Kings, as

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## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 193

Marii cognoverunt, diversi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plebrosque, remoto metu laxius, licentiusque futuros.

*soon as they heard of Marius's arrival, retired different ways into places of difficult access. This was Jugurtha's contrivance, in hopes that the enemy in a little time, by not keeping close together, might afford an opportunity of falling on them to good advantage; as supposing the Romans, like most other men, when their apprehensions of an enemy were removed, would be more loose and licentious.*

**XCIII.** Metellus interea Romam profectus, contra spem suam lætissimis animis accipitur; plebi, patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre, prudenterque suorum, & hostium res pariter attendere; cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra esset; explorare itinera regum; consilia, & insidias eorum antevénire; nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque & Gætulos, & Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris prædas agentis, sæpe aggressus itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. Quæ postquam gloriosa modo, neque belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbis, quæ viris, aut loco pro hostibus, & adversum se opportunissimæ erant, singulas circumvenire; ita Jugurtham aut præsidis nuda-

**XCIII.** *In the mean time Metellus, upon his arrival in Rome, was, contrary to his expectations, very joyfully received; being equally acceptable to the commons, and the Senate, now that the spirit of envy had left them. But Marius, with all possible application and prudence, weighing well the circumstances of the enemy, and his own, discovered thereby what was advantageous for each, or otherwise. He watched all the movements of the two Kings, prevented all their plots and designs; suffered no remissness in his own men, or security with the enemy. Accordingly he had oftentimes, when upon a march, attacked and routed, both the Getulians, and Jugurtha, as they were making off with the spoils they had got from our allies; and disarmed the King himself, not far from the town of Cirta. But finding all this, how specious an appearance soever it made, availed nothing towards bringing the war to a conclusion, he resolved to invest all the cities, that by their number of people and situation, gave the enemy an advantage against us; since Jugur-*

tum, si ea pateretur, aut prælio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum sæpe miserat, velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret. Id simulaverit ne, quo improvisus gravior accederet, an mobilitate ingenii pacem, atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

XCIV. Sed Consul, uti statuerat, oppida, castellaque munita adire, partim vi, alia metu, aut præmia ostentando, avortere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi illum procul abesse, & aliis negotiis intentum accepit; majora, & magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est. Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum, atque valens, nomine Capsa; cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, & ob ea fidelissimi habebantur; muniti adversum hostis non mœnibus modo, & armis, atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam, præter oppido

tha by that means, would either be stript of those strong holds, if he suffered it, or else engage in battle. For Bocchus had frequently sent messengers to him, to let him know, that he was desirous of the friendship of the Roman people, and that Marius need not fear any hostilities from him. Whether he only pretended so, that he might fall the heavier upon him by surprize, or through the fickleness of his temper, he was accustomed never to persist long in either peace or war, I have not been able to discover.

XCIV. But the Consul, according to his resolution, now went to work with the towns and castles of any strength; some of which he took by assault; others he brought over to him by threats or promises. At first indeed he only attempted small places, supposing Jugurtha, to protect his subjects, would come to a battle with him. But when he found that he was at a considerable distance from him, taken up with other affairs, he thought it time to attack the larger towns, and such as were more difficult to take. There was in the midst of a vast wilderness, a great and strong town, by name Capsa; the builder whereof was said to be Hercules the Libyan. The people thereof were excused from the payment of taxes; and being under a very gentle government in other respects too, were therefore thought very faithful to Jugurtha; and they were secured against an enemy, not only by their walls, arms, and men, but much more by the situation of the place. For, excepting the pro-

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 195

propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus; quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior; ad hoc, natura serpentum ipsa perniciofa, siti magis, quam alia te accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxima cupido invaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; & Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm, munitumque; nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant; Capsenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum jugi aqua, cætera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique, & in omnia Africa, quæ procul a mare incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte, & ferina carne vescebantur, neque salem, neque alia irritamenta gulæ quærebant. Cibus illis advorsum famem, atque sitim, non libidini, neque luxuriæ erat.

XCV. Igitur Consul, omnibus exploratis, credo diis fretus, nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidæ pa-

parts nigh the town, all the rest of the country about it was waste and uncultivated, without water, and infested with serpents, who, like all other wild beasts, are made keener by want of food; besides, the nature of serpents, mischievous enough in itself, is inflamed by thirst, above all things. Marius was very desirous of mastering this place, as well for the better convenience of carrying on the war, as because it seemed a matter of vast difficulty; and because Metellus had acquired much reputation, by the taking of Thala, a town for situation and strength much like Capsa; but that at Thala, there were some springs not far from the town. The Capsensians had but one spring, and that within the town, which flowed the year round; all the water they had besides, was from the heavens. This scarcity of water both there, and in other parts of Africa, which lying at a distance from the sea, were but indifferently cultivated, was the more easily born, because the Numidians live mostly upon milk, and the flesh of wild beasts, without the use of salt, or any other seasoning or sauce, to whet the appetite. Their food was designed against hunger and thirst, and not made subservient to whimsy and luxury.

XCV. Wherefore the Consul having strictly examined into all circumstances, proceeds in his designs; depending, I suppose, upon the Gods; for he could hardly, by any contrivance of his own, provide effectually against so many difficulties; for he was but poorly



bulo pecoris magis, quam arvo, student, & quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant; ager autem aridus, & frugum vacuus ea tempestate; nam æstatis extremum erat; tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat; pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus prædæ fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum attribuit; A. Manlius legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium, & commeatum locaverat, ire jubet; dicitque se prædabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCVI. Cæterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas æqualiter distribuerat; & ex coriis utres uti fierent, curabat; simul & inopiam frumenti lenire, & ignaris omnibus, parare, quæ mox usui forent; denique sexto die, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrius effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse jubet; omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque & jumenta onerare. Dein,

*supplied with corn, because the Numidians apply themselves more to grazing than tillage; and what corn there was, had, by the King's order, been carried off into fortified towns. The land too was parched, and afforded nothing at that time, being the end of summer. Yet, considering all circumstances, he provided pretty well for the supply of his army. He gave the cattle they had picked up some days before, to the auxiliary horse to drive; orders Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant-general, to march with a light detachment of foot to a town called Laris, where he had laid up the money for the pay of the army, and provisions; and tells him, that he would in a few days come to the same place a plundering. Thus concealing his design, he goes to the river Tana.*

XCVI. *But in his march he daily distributed cattle to the several foot companies, and troops of horse, in the army; and took care for the making of leathern bottles out of their hides; at once to make amends to them for the want of corn, and to provide, whilst all people were ignorant of his intentions, such things as would by and by be of use to him; so that upon his arrival six days after at the river, a great quantity of leathern bottles were made. Then pitching a camp with a slight fortification, he orders the soldiers to refresh themselves, and to be ready for a march at sun-set; as also to lay aside all other baggage, and load themselves, and their beasts of burden* post-

postquam tempus visum,  
 castris egreditur; noctem-  
 que totam itinere facto,  
 confedit; idem proxuma  
 facit. Dein tertia multo  
 ante lucis adventum per-  
 venit in locum tumulo-  
 sum, ab Capsa non am-  
 plius duum millium inter-  
 vallo; ibique, quam oc-  
 cultissime potest, cum  
 omnibus copiis opperitur.  
 Sed, ubi dies cœpit; &  
 Numidæ nihil hostile  
 metuentes, multi oppido  
 egressi; repente omnem  
 equitatum, & cum his  
 velocissimos pedites cursu  
 tendere ad Capsam, &  
 portas obsidere jubet;  
 deinde ipse intentus pro-  
 pere sequi, neque milites  
 prædari sinere. Quæ  
 postquam oppidani cog-  
 novère; res trepidæ, me-  
 tus ingens, malum im-  
 provisum, ad hoc pars  
 civium extra mœnia in  
 hostium potestate, coege-  
 re, uti deditionem face-  
 rent. Cæterum oppidum  
 incensum; Numidæ pu-  
 beres interfecti; alii om-  
 nes venundati; præda  
 militibus divisa. Id facinus  
 contra jus belli non ava-  
 ritia, neque scelere Con-  
 sulis admissum; sed quia  
 locus Jugurthæ opportu-  
 nus, nobis aditu difficilis;  
 genus hominum mobile,  
 infidum, ante neque be-  
 neficio, neque metu co-  
 ercitur.

*den, with water only. Then, at the  
 time appointed, he draws out of  
 the camp, and marching all night,  
 encamped again. The same he did  
 the next night too; and in the  
 third, he arrived a little before day  
 at a hill, not above two miles from  
 Capsa; and there he stays, as pri-  
 vately as possible, with all his ar-  
 my. But as soon as day appeared,  
 and the Numidians, as being un-  
 der no apprehensions at all of an  
 enemy, many of them came out of  
 the town; on a sudden he orders  
 all his horse, and with them the  
 nimblest of the foot, to make di-  
 rectly for Capsa with all speed, and  
 secure the gates. At the same time  
 he follows them with all diligence  
 and expedition, and suffers not the  
 soldiers to plunder. When the  
 towns-people found this, they were  
 in the utmost confusion and fright,  
 with so unexpected a calamity; and  
 as part of their people were with-  
 out the wall, in the hands of the  
 enemy, they found it necessary to  
 surrender. Yet notwithstanding,  
 the town was burnt, the Numi-  
 ans of age put to the sword, all  
 the rest sold, and the plunder of  
 the place given to the soldiers. This  
 piece of execution, contrary to the  
 right of war, was not occasioned  
 by the avarice or cruelty of the Con-  
 sul; but from a consideration, that  
 the place was very advantageous  
 for Jugurtha, and difficult for us  
 to come at; the people too being  
 fickle and faithless, and by no  
 means, fair or foul, to be wrought  
 upon.*

XCVII. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit; magnus, & clarus antea, major, atque clarior haberi cœpit; omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur. Milites modesto imperio habiti, simul & locupletes, ad cœlum ferre; Numidæ magis, quam mortalem, timere; postremo omnes socii, atque hostes credere, illi aut mentem divinam esse, aut Deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed Consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit; pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura deferta propter Capsensium miseras, igni corrumpit; luctu, atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, cæterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Muluchæ, quod Jugurthæ, Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter cæteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello, satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto; nam omnia natura, velut opere, atque consulto, præceps. Quem locum

XCVII. After Marius had executed this so important a project, without any detriment to his own troops, tho' he was great and famous before, he now begun to be look'd upon as greater and more famous; and all his performances, tho' but ill advised, were placed to the account of his good conduct. The soldiers too being under a very gentle command, and at the same time enriched with plunder, cried him up to the heavens; and the Numidians dreaded him as something more than man. In short, all, both allies and enemies, did really believe he had either a divine mind in him, or that all things were signified to him by the intimation of the Gods. But the Consul, after this success, marches against some other towns. Some, where he met with opposition from the Numidians, he takes by force; but most of them, being deserted because of the terrible usage of the Capsensians, he burnt to the ground. And so all parts are filled with mourning and slaughter. Finally, having made himself master of many places, and most of them without loss of blood, he goes upon another design, of full as much difficulty, but not of the same nature as that against the Capsensians. For, not far from the river Mulucha, which divided the kingdoms of Jugurtha and Bocchus, there was, in the midst of a plain, a rocky mountain, with a small castle upon it. The mountain was large, and vastly high, with one only very strait way up to the top. For it was by nature steep on all sides, as  
Ma-



## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 199

Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit; sed ea res forte, quam consilio, melius gesta. Nam castello virorum, atque armorum satis magna vis, & frumenti, & fons aquæ; aggeribus, turribusque, & aliis machinationibus locus importunus; iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque præcisum; vineæ cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur. Nam cum eæ paullo processerant, igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci; neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare; optumus quisque cadere, aut fauciari; cæteris metus augeri.

XCVIII. At Marius, multis diebus, & laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere cum animo suo, omitteret ne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat; an fortunam opperiretur; qua sæpe prospere usus fuerat. Quæ cum multos dies, noctesque æstuans agigaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod adversum

*if it had been designedly made so by the hands of men. Which place Marius attempts with all his might and main to take, because the King's treasure was lodged there; and succeeded in his attempt, more by chance, than good management. For there was in the castle store of men, arms, and corn, with a spring of water. And the place was rendered still more troublesome to take, by ramparts, castles, and other works. The way up to the castle was very narrow, with a precipice on both sides; the pushing of vineæ along which was attended with vast hazard, and signified nothing. For after they had advanced a little, they were destroyed by fire, or great stones. The soldiers were neither able to stand before their works, because of the great disadvantage or inconvenience of the ground; nor could they manage their business within the vineæ, without danger. The bravest of them were either slain or wounded, and the rest sadly discouraged.*

XCVIII. But Marius, after he had spent many days and much pains to no purpose, was in huge doubt with himself, whether he should drop his undertaking, which had hitherto proved in vain, or wait some lucky turn of fortune, which he had often found favourable to him. Whilst he was taken up with these thoughts for several days and nights together, by chance a certain Ligurian, a common soldier of the auxiliary battalions, going out of the camp to get water, observed some snails creeping among the stones, not far from that side of  
proe-

prœliantibus erat, animadvertit inter saxa repentes cochleas; quarum cum unam, atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi, paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit; more humanæ cupidinis ignara visundi animum vortit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paullulum modo prona, deinde inflexa, atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert; cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nixus Ligus, castelli planitiem perscribit; quod cuncti Numidæ intenti prœliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, uti ascenderat, sed tentans omnia, & circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit; acta edocet; hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse ascenderat castellum tentet; pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa ejus cognitum ex præsentibus misit; quorum, uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem, aut facilem nunciavere. Consul animus tamen paullum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubici-

the castle, which was opposite to the besiegers. After he had picked up a few of them, from a desire of having more, he was by little and little got almost up to the top of the mountain. And finding all quiet in that quarter, from a curiosity, natural to man, of prying into things unknown, he looks about him. By chance, in the place where he was, there grew a great oak-tree out of the side of the rock, with the bole tending downwards a little; but presently taking a turn, and mounting up to a vast height, as all things that grow out of the earth naturally tend upwards. The Ligurian climbing up one while by the boughs of this tree, another while by pieces of the rock standing out from the rest, takes a pretty good survey of the plain of the castle; because all the Numidians were busily engaged in fight with the besiegers. After he had made such observations as he thought might be of service, he returns the same way as he came; not carelessly, as he went up, but trying and viewing all things well, as he went along. Upon this, he applies himself to Marius in all haste; tells him what he had done, and advises him to make an attempt upon the castle, on that side, where he went up; and promises him, that he would lead the way, and be the foremost in the danger. Marius sends some of those that attended him along with the Ligurian, to see whether what he promised was feasible, or no; who brought word according to their different tempers; some, that the matter was difficult; others, that  
num,

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 201

num, & cornicinum, numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit, & cum his, præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones; omnisque Liguri parere jubet; & ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

XCIX. Sed ubi ex præcepto tempus visum; paratis, compositisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Cæterum illi, qui centuriis præerant, prædocti ab duce, arma, ornatumque mutaverant, capite, atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus, nissusque per saxa facilius foret; super terga gladii, & scuta; verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia; simul & offensa, quo levius streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus, saxa, & si quæ vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati milites facilius ascenderent, interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu; ubi paullo asperior adscensus erat, singulos præ se inermos mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quæ dubia nisi videbantur, potissimum tentare; ac sæpius eadem adscendens, descendensque dein statim digrediens, cæteris

*it was easy. However, the mind of the Consul was roused upon the occasion. Wherefore he chuses out of all the trumpeters, belonging to both horse and foot, five of the swiftest, and four centurions to go along with them as a guard; ordering them to follow the direction of the Ligurian; and appoints the next day for the execution of the design.*

XCIX. *When the time first was come, the Ligurian having provided and got all things ready for the business, goes to the place. But the centurions, as they had been instructed by him, had changed their arms and dress, being bare-headed and bare-foot too, that they might look about them, and climb the rock with more ease. Their swords and shields were upon their backs. The latter were of the Numidian kind, made of hides for lightness, and that they might not make a noise, if they chanced to dash against the rock. The Ligurian mounted first, and tied cords about the stones, or old tree-roots which stuck out here and there, for the soldiers to climb up by. Sometimes, when they were discouraged by the extraordinary ruggedness of their passage, he would lend them a hand to give them a lift. Where the ascent was a little more difficult than ordinary, he sent them up unarmed before him, and then followed himself with their arms. And places, where it seemed doubtful whether they could pass or no, he tried; and by going up and down the same several times, and then advancing again, encouraged the rest to fol-*



audaciam addere. Igitur diu, multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte; quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, adversum hostes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quæ Ligus egerat, cognovit; quamquam tota die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites, & ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succederet, & simul hostem tormentis, sagittariisque, & funditoribus eminens terrere. At Numidæ, sæpe antea vineis Romanorum subversis, item incensis, non castelli mœnibus sese tuebantur; sed pro muro dies, noctesque agitare; *maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam obiectare; militibus nostris Jugurthæ servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse.* Interim, Romanis omnibus, hostibusque prælio intentis, magna utrimque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere; ac primo mulieres, & pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti armati, inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac

*low. After a tedious deal of fatigue, they came to the castle, which was naked on that side, because the whole garrison, as on other days, were attending the motions of the besiegers. When Marius was informed by messengers, what the Ligurian had done, tho' he had kept the Numidians under a constant alarm all day long, yet then encouraging his men, he sallied out of the vineæ, and forming a testudo, advanced towards the wall of the castle, and at the same time terrified the enemy with his engines, archers and slingers, at a distance. But the Numidians having often before ruined the vineæ of the Romans, and burnt them, did not use to defend themselves with their walls, but posted themselves before them day and night; railing at the Romans, and upbraiding Marius with madness. They threatened our soldiers too, that they should be all slaves to Jugurtha; and were hugely elevated with their advantage. In the mean time, while the Romans and the enemies were intent upon the fight, which was warmly carried on on both sides; one party contending eagerly for glory and dominion, and the other for their lives; on a sudden the trumpets sounded in the rear of the enemy. And first the women and children, who ran to see what the matter was, fled; after them those nearest the wall; and after them all the rest, both armed and unarmed. Upon which the Romans pushed forward with more violence in pursuit of them. The most of them they only wounded, making*  
ple-

plerosque tantummodo fauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriæ certantes murum petere; neque quemquam omnium præda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpa invenit.

C. Cæterum, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit; qui, uti ex Latio, & a sociis exercitum cogeret, Romæ relictus erat. Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit; idoneum visum est, de natura, cultuque ejus paucis dicere. Neque enim alio loco de Sullæ rebus dicturi sumus; & L. Sisenna optume, & diligentissime omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciæ nobilis fuit, familia prope jam extincta majorum ignavia, litteris Græcis, atque Latinis juxta, atque doctissime eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriæ cupidior; otio luxurioso esse; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remota, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli; facundus, callidus, & amicitia facilis; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis; mul-

*their way in all haste over the bodies of the slain to the wall; all greedy of glory, and not to be diverted by a regard to plunder. Thus the rash conduct of Marius being happily corrected, made even a fault in him turn to his glory.*

C. During this transaction, his Quæstor L. Sulla, came with a great body of horse to the camp, who had been left at Rome to draw together the troops furnished by the Latins, and our allies. But as the thread of the story has led us to the mention of this man, I judge it may not be amiss to give his character in a few words; for I shall have no further occasion to take notice of him; and L. Sisenna, who has given us his history with the greatest accuracy and exactness, of all that have pretended to write it, does not, however, appear to me to lay down his character with all the freedom, that was requisite. Sulla was of a Patrician family, but almost extinct by the want of spirit and activity in his ancestors. He was well educated in all the learning both of Greece and Rome; of a great soul; a lover of pleasure, but yet fonder of glory. He would, in a time of leisure, be guilty of a luxurious indulgence; but was never hindered by his pleasures from the prosecution of business, excepting only the case of his marriage, in which he might have acted more for his honour. He was eloquent, artful, and open to any that sought his friendship; had a prodigious talent for dissimulation, and would

tarum rerum, ac maxime pecuniæ largitor; atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitare, fortior, an felicior esset. Nam, postea quæ fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat an pigeat dislerere.

CI. Igitur Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam, atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea, & ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benigne appellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere; sed ea properantius, quam æs mutuum, reddere; ipse ab nullò repetere; magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent; joca, atque seria cum humillimis agere; in operibus, in agmine, atque ad vigilias multus adesse; neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, Consulibus, aut cujusquam boni famam lædere; tantummodo neque consilio, neque manu priorem alium pati plerosque antevenire. Quibus rebus, & artibus brevi Mario, militibusque carissimus factus.

*readily part with any thing to shew his generosity, especially money. And tho' he was, before the civil war, the most fortunate of all men; yet his fortune was never superior to his industry; insomuch that many have made a question of it, whether he was more brave, or more fortunate. For as to his behaviour in the civil war, I am uncertain, whether the relation of it would give me more of shame or sorrow.*

CI. *When Sulla, as has been before said, was come into Africa, and arrived at Marius's camp with the horse, tho' he had been before unskilled and ignorant in the art of war, yet in a short time he became the ablest man that way in the army. Besides, he was very complaisant in his address to the soldiers. He granted favours to many upon their request; to others without it; of his own accord, whilst he cared not to receive any himself; but when he did, would be in more haste to repay them, than a debt; tho' he never demanded any return from others, but rather made it his business to have others as much indebted to him as possible. He would engage either in serious or merry conversation with persons of the lowest rank. He was sure to be every where with the soldiers in their encampments, marches, and upon the watch. Nor did he in the mean time, what wicked ambition is apt to prompt men to, go about to lessen the character of the Consul, or any other worthy man whatever. He only would not suffer any one to outstrip him in counsel, or action;*



*sign; and excelled most. By all which behaviour, in a short time he rendered himself highly acceptable to Marius, and the whole army.*

CII. At Jugurtha postquam oppidum Cap-sam, aliosque locos munitos, & sibi utilis, simul & magnam pecuniam amiserat; ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret; prælii faciendi tempus adesse. Quem ubi cunctari accepit, dubium belli, atque pacis rationes trahere; rursus, uti antea, proximos ejus donis corrumpit; ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiæ partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo præmio illectus Bocchus, cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita, amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decima parte die reliqua invadunt, rati noctem, quæ jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore; &, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant; contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul Consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit; & ipsi hostes aderant; & prius quam exercitus aut

CII. But Jugurtha, after he had lost Capsa, with other strong holds of great use to him, and a vast treasure besides; sends away messengers to Bocchus, to hasten his march into Numidia; because it was now time, he said, to give the enemy battle. But finding him demur upon the matter, and doubtful with himself what course to take, whether that of war or peace; he again, as he had done before, bribes those about him to his interest, and promises the Moor himself a third part of Numidia, if the Romans should be driven out of Africa, or he left in the possession of his dominions entire, upon the conclusion of the war. Bocchus, tempted by this bait, comes to Jugurtha with a vast army. After they were joined, they fall upon Marius, as he was now marching into his winter-quarters, so far on the day, that there was scarce a tenth part of it left; supposing the night, which was near at hand, would protect them, if worsted; and if they prevailed, would be no impediment to the prosecution of the victory, by reason they were so well acquainted with the country; whereas the Romans, which way soever the matter went, would have but a bad chance for it in the dark. Wherefore the Consul no sooner had notice, as he had from several, of the enemy's approach, than they were upon him. And before the army could be put in order of battle, or draw their baggage together; in short, instrui,

instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique, antequam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri, atque Gætuli, non acie, neque ullo more prælii, sed cætervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros incurrunt. Qui omnes trepidi improviso metu ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant; pars equos ascendere, obviam ire hostibus; pugna latrocinio magis, quam prælio similis fieri; sine signis, sine ordinibus, equites pedites permixti; cædere alios, alios obtruncare; multos, contra adversos acerrume pugnantes ab tergo circumvenire; neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere; quia hostes numero plures, & undique circumfusi erant. Denique Romani veteres, novique, & ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus, aut casus conjunxerat, orbis facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti, & instructi, hostium vim sustentabant.

CIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus, aut magis, quam antea, demisso animo fuit; sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis, quam familiarissimis

*before they could receive any signal, or word of command, the Moorish and Getulian horse, not in due order, or any regular method of fighting; but in scattered companies, as chance had brought them together, came pell-mell upon the Romans, who were alarmed indeed with so unexpected an onset; yet mindful of their former bravery, they either took to their arms, or defended such as were doing so, from the enemy. Part of them mounting their horses, advanced against them. The fight was more like an engagement with a gang of Banditti, than soldiers. The Romans were without their standards, in confusion, horse and foot jumbled together; whilst the enemy's hack'd and hewed among them, and attacked here and there such of them as were engaged in the rear, whom neither their courage, nor arms, could sufficiently secure; because the enemy were more numerous, and on all sides of them. Finally, the Romans, both old and new soldiers, as chance happened to join them, formed themselves into round bodies; and so being secured on all sides, and posted in proper order, they bravely withstood the enemy.*

CIII. *In this desperate case, Marius was not daunted, or a whit more dismayed, than at other times; but with his own troop, which he had formed not so much of friends, as the bravest fellows in the army, flew about every where; one while para-*

paraverat, vagari passim; ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere manu; consulere militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Jamque dies consumptus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere; atque, uti reges præceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit; atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat. Quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquæ magnus erat; alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus, & præceps; pauca munimento egebat. Cæterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paulatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit; dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, prælio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato effusi confedere. Dein, crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari more suo lætari, exsultare, strepere vocibus;

relieving his own men in distress; another while falling in amongst the thickest of the enemy; and by fighting himself in person, endeavoured to serve his soldiers all he could; since, in this universal confusion, it was impossible for him to act the proper part of a general. And tho' the day was now quite spent, yet did not the fury of the enemy abate at all; but as the Kings had instructed them beforehand, supposing night would give them the advantage, they charged more desperately than before. Marius, upon this, takes the most proper measures his present circumstances would admit of; and, to provide for the retreat of his troops, seizes upon two hills that were near together; in one of which, not large enough to encamp on, there was a plentiful spring of water; the other was convenient for the purpose, because the main of it was high and steep, and would require but little fortifying. However, he orders Sulla with his horse to spend the night by the water. He draws by degrees his scattered troops together, the enemy being now in as much confusion as they; and then carries them all, upon a full march, up the hill. Thus the Kings were obliged, by the difficulty of attacking them in that situation, to give over the fight; but yet suffer'd not their men to withdraw to any distance; but enclosing both the hills within their two armies, lay scattered here and there. And then the barbarians, making many fires, spent the greatest part of the night in mirth and jollity, and yelling &



& ipsi duces feroces; quia non fugere, ut pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis, ex tenebris; & editoribus locis facilia visu, magnoque hortamento erant.

CIV. Plurimum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentio haberi jubet; ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere; deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus, ac paullo ante somno captis, de improvviso vectigalis, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri, atque Gætuli, ignoto & horribili sonitu repente excitati, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere, aut providere quidquam poterant; ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus tumultu, terrore, formidine, quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi, fugatique; arma, & signa militaria pleraque capta; pluresque eo prælio, quam omnibus superioribus, interempti. Nam somno, & metu insolito impedita fuga.

CV. Dein Marius, uti cœperat, in hiberna proficiscitur, quæ propter comœntum in oppidis maritimis agere decreve-

*after their fashion. And their leaders, proud to think they had not run away, behaved as conquerors. All these things were very visible to the Romans, who were in the dark upon the hills; and gave them no little encouragement.*

CIV. *Marius being much animated by the folly of the enemy, orders a profound silence to be kept, and that no trumpets should sound, as usual, at the end of every watch. Towards break of day, when the enemy were now weary and asleep, he orders the trumpeters throughout the army to sound at once, and the soldiers to make a sally upon the enemy with a great shout. The Moors and Getulians being suddenly awakened with so unexpected and dismal a noise, could neither fly, nor take arms; neither act, nor think of any thing for their own security; being all perfectly stupified with the clamour and din about their ears; whilst our men poured in upon them in this helpless condition, with confusion, terrour, and distraction attending them. In short, they were all routed and dispersed, most of their arms and military standards were taken, and more men killed in that battle, than all the former. For their flight was in a great measure prevented by sleep and surprize together.*

CV. *Now Marius pursued his former design of marching, in order to quarter his soldiers, for the winter, in the towns upon the sea-coast, because of the plenty of pro-*  
rat;

rat; neque tamen victoria socors, aut insolens factus; sed pariter, atque in conspectu hostium, quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus, & sagittariis, præterea cohortes Ligurum curabat; primos, & extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugæ, minime cari, & regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant. Simul Consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere; apud omnis adesse, laudare, increpare merentis. Ipse armatus, intentusque item milites cogebat; neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire, excubitum in porta cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere; præterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non diffidentia futuri, quæ imperavisset, quam uti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius illo & aliis temporibus Jugurthini belli, pudore magis, quam malo, exercitum coercibat; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant; pars, quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam, & alia, quæ cæteri miseras

visions in those parts. However, he was not rendered either careless, or insolent, by his success; but marched with his army in a square figure, as if he had been in view of an enemy. Sulla was with the horse upon the right; A. Manlius with the slingers and archers, as also some battalions of the Ligurians, on the left. In the van and rear he had posted the Tribunes of the army, with several companies of foot, clear of baggage. Deserters, who were but little set by, and besides best acquainted with the country, were sent out to reconnoitre the enemy. At the same time, the Consul overlooked every thing, as if no one had been entrusted in any share of the command with him. He was every where, commending or reprimanding such as deserved it. He was armed, and upon his guard himself; and obliged the soldiers to be so too. Nor did he use this great caution only in his march, but in encamping, posting the usual guard of legionary soldiers at the gates within the camp, and auxiliary horse without, as also upon the ramparts; and going the rounds to visit the watch himself, not so much from a distrust of those employed to execute his orders, as to make the soldiers more easy under their fatigue, by taking an equal share with them in it. And indeed Marius both then, and all the time he was employed in the war against Jugurtha, kept up good order in the army, more by the dint of shame, than punishment; which, many said, was done purely to court the soldiery; but others were of opini-

vocant, voluptati habu-  
isset. Nisi tamen Respub.  
pariter, ac sævissimo im-  
perio, bene, atque decore  
gesta.

CVI. Igitur quarto  
deniq; die, haud longe ab  
oppido Cirta undique si-  
mul speculatores citi sese  
ostendunt; qua re hostis  
adesse intelligitur. Sed  
quia diversi redeunt,es,  
alius ab alia parte, atque  
omnes idem significa-  
bant; Consul incertus,  
quonam modo aciem in-  
strueret, nullo ordine  
commutato, advorsum  
omnia paratus, ibidem  
opperitur. Ita Jugur-  
tham spes frustrata, qui  
copias in quatuor partis  
distribuerat, ratus ex om-  
nibus æque aliquos ab ter-  
go hostibus venturos. In-  
terim Sulla, quem pri-  
mum hostes attigerant,  
cohortatus suos, turma-  
tim, & quam maxime  
confertis equis, ipse ali-  
que Mauros invadunt;  
cæteri in loco manentes,  
ab jaculis eminus emissis  
corpora tegere; & si qui  
in manus venerant, ob-  
truncare.

CVII. Dum eo modo  
equites præliantur, Boc-  
chus cum peditibus, quos  
Volux filius ejus adduxe-  
rat, neque in priore pug-

on, he took a real pleasure in that  
way of behaviour, as having from  
his youth been inured to hardship,  
and such things as others count very  
dismal. However, affairs were as  
well, and as gloriously managed, as  
they could have been under the most  
severe command.\*

CVI. At last, four days after  
the battle, several scouts suddenly  
appear'd on all sides, not far from  
the town of Cirta; a certain  
sign that the enemy was not far  
off. But because the parties that  
brought intelligence from all quar-  
ters round, were in the same story,  
the Consul not knowing how to  
draw up his army, without alter-  
ing the disposition of his troops at  
all, waits, in the place where he  
then was, the coming of the enemy;  
prepared to receive them, let them  
attack him in what quarter they  
would; which was a baulk upon  
Jugurtha. For he had divided his  
troops into four parts, supposing  
some of them would certainly sur-  
prize the enemy in their rear. In  
the mean time Sulla, whom the  
enemy came up first with, encoura-  
ging his men, with several troops  
of horse, in close order, fall upon  
the Moors. The rest keeping their  
ground, only endeavour'd to guard  
against the weapons, which the  
enemy pour'd in upon them at a dis-  
tance; and if any of them came  
up to them, cut them down.

CVII. During this engagement  
of the horse, Bocchus with the  
foot, which his son Volux had  
brought him, but who loitering  
upon their march, had not been at

na,



# BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 211

na, in itinere morati, ad-  
fuerant, postremam Ro-  
manorum aciem inva-  
dunt. Tum Marius apud  
primos erat, quod ibi  
Jugurtha cum plurimis  
instabat. Dein Numida,  
cognito Bocchi adventu,  
clam cum paucis ad pedi-  
tes convertit; ibi Latine,  
nam apud Numantiam  
loqui didicerat, exclamat  
*nostros frustra pugnare;*  
*paullo ante Marium sua*  
*manu interfectum;* simul  
gladium sanguine oblitum  
ostendere, quem in pug-  
na, satis impigre occiso  
pedite nostro, cruenta-  
verat. Quod ubi milites  
acceperere, magis atrocitate  
rei, quam fide nuncii,  
terrentur; simulque bar-  
bari animos tollere, & in  
perculos Romanos acrius  
incedere. Jamque paul-  
lum a fuga aberant, cum  
Sulla, profligatis iis, quos  
advorsum ierat, rediens  
ab latere Mauris incurrit.  
Bocchus statim avertitur.  
At Jugurtha, dum sus-  
tentare suos, & prope jam  
adeptam victoriam reti-  
nere cupit, circumventus  
ab equitibus dextra, fi-  
nistra, omnibus occisis,  
solus inter tela hostium  
vitabandus erumpit. At-  
que interim Marius, fu-  
gatis equitibus, accurrit  
auxilio suis, quos pelli  
jam acceperat. Denique  
hostes jam undique fusi.

*the former battle; falls upon the  
hinder part of the Roman army.  
Marius was then in the van, be-  
cause Jugurtha was there with a  
numerous body of troops; who re-  
ceiving intelligence of Bocchus's  
coming, wheels off privately with  
a few attendants to the Roman  
foot, and there cries out in Latin,  
which he had learnt to speak at  
Numantia, that our men fought  
to no purpose, since he had slain  
Marius but a little before with his  
own hand; and at the same time  
shewed them his sword all bloody,  
which he had made so by killing a  
foot-man belonging to our army.  
Which when the soldiers heard,  
they were shock'd with the horrid-  
ness of the thing, more than any  
credit they gave to it; and at the  
same time the barbarians took fresh  
courage, and made a very smart at-  
tack upon the disheartened Romans,  
who were now ready to fly; when  
Sulla having routed those he was  
engaged with, in his return from  
the pursuit of them, falls upon the  
Moors in their flank; whereupon  
Bocchus immediately flies. But Ju-  
gurtha, desirous to support his  
friends, and make sure of the victo-  
ry, which he had now almost got,  
was hemmed in upon the right and  
left by our horse; and all his atten-  
dants being slain, made good his re-  
treat, as he was by himself, by cauti-  
ously keeping upon his defence against  
the weapons poured in upon him. And  
in the mean time, Marius routing  
the horse, comes to the relief of his  
men, who, he was advertised, gave  
ground before the enemy. Finally,  
they were now routed in all quar-  
ters.*

CVIII. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus; sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi atque viri afflicti; ac multi, vulneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac statim concidere; postremo omnia, quavis erat, constricta telis, armis, cadaveribus; & inter ea humus infecta sanguine. Postea loci Consul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo post diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnarent, legati a Boccho veniunt; qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, *duos quam fidissimos ad eum mittere; velle de suo, & de populi Romani commodo cum iis differere.* Ille statim L. Sullam, & A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant; tamen placuit verba apud regem facere; uti ingenium aut aversum flecterent; aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiae, non ætati, a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus.

CIX. Rex Bocche, magna nobis lætitia est, cum te talem virum dii monuere, uti aliquando

CVIII. *And now was there a dreadful sight to be seen all over the fields, to a vast extent; some pursuing, others flying; some were killed, some taken; horses and men tumbled together upon the ground; and many that were wounded, could neither fly, nor be quiet; but endeavouring to rise, immediately fell down again. Finally, all parts, as far as sight could reach, were covered with arms of all sorts, and dead bodies; and the ground stained with blood. The Consul having now got an unquestionable victory, continued his march to Cirta, the place he before design'd for. Thither, five days after the barbarians had been beaten, came deputies from Bocchus; who, in the King's name, requested of Marius to send to him two persons to be confided in, that he might treat with them concerning the joint interest of himself, and the Roman people. He immediately dispatches away L. Sulla, and A. Manlius; who, notwithstanding they went upon the King's request, yet they resolved to speak first, in order to work upon him, if he was still obstinate; or if he was desirous of peace, to encourage that disposition in him. Wherefore Sulla, to whom Manlius gave place, in consideration of his eloquence, and not his age, spoke briefly to the following effect.*

CIX. King Bocchus, it is no small joy to us, to find the Gods have put it into the heart of so fine a prince as you are, to chuse at last  
*pacem*

*pacem, quam bellum, males; neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem, & illum sceleratissimum persequi. Ad hoc, populo Romano, jam a principio inopi, melius visum, amicos, quam servos, quæere; tutiusque rati, volentibus, quam coactis, imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior amicitia nostra; primum quod procul absumus; in quo offensæ minimum, gratia par, ac si prope adessemus; dein, quod parentes abunde habemus; amicorum, neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset! profecto ex P. R. ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpeffus esses. Sed quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit; cui scilicet placuisse & vim, & gratiam nostram experiri; nunc, quando per illam licet, festina; atque, uti cœpisti, perge. Multa, atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officii superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum dimitte, numquam P. R. beneficiis victum esse. Nam, bello quid valeat, tute scis.*

rather to be at peace, than war with us; and no longer disparage yourself, a most excellent person, by uniting with the worst man alive, Jugurtha; and at the same time deliver us from the odious necessity of pursuing you, guilty only of a mistake, and that most vile wretch, with the like vengeance. It has ever been a maxim with the Roman people, since their first rise in the world, which was but low, to procure themselves friends, rather than slaves; and they have always thought it safer to rule over willing subjects, than by compulsion. No alliance can be more commodious for you, than ours. In the first place, because we are a great way off; in which case, there can be very small occasion of difference, and yet there may be the same good understanding, as if we were near neighbours; and in the next place, because we have subjects enough; but neither we, nor any one else, had ever friends enough. And I could have wished, you had taken this course at first! You would certainly, by this time, have received more good at the hands of the Roman people, than you have now suffered evil. But as the concerns of mankind are, in the main, subjected to the power of fortune, who had a mind, it seems, that you should as well feel the effects of our force, as of our favour; now that she puts the latter in your power, be quick, and go on, as you have begun. Now you have great advantages for correcting your former mistakes, by future services. Finally, let this thought sink deep into



into your mind, that the Roman people were never yet out-done in acts of kindness by any one. For as to their ability in war, you know that well enough yourself.

CX. Ad ea Bocchus placide, & benigne; simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit; *se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse; nam Numidiæ partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari a Mario, pati nequivisse; præterea, missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia; cæterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad Senatum missurum.* Dein, copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullæ, & Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruerat. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus, & parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis præsidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus feliciter, seu reputando, quæ sibi duobus præliis venerant, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum & fides cognita, & inge-

CX. *To all this Bocchus made a very soft and civil reply; at the same time making a brief apology for his misconduct; alledging, that he had not taken up arms out of any hostile intention against the Romans, but for the defence of his kingdom; for that part of Numidia, out of which he had driven Jugurtha, was, by the right of war, become his own; which he could not suffer to be laid waste by Marius. Besides, upon his applying formerly, by his ambassadors at Rome, for an alliance with us, he had been rejected; but however, he should decline all further mention of what was past; and now, if Marius pleased to give him leave, he should send ambassadors again to the Senate. Yet tho' this liberty was afterwards granted him, the mind of the barbarian received a different turn, from the influence of such friends, as Jugurtha, upon hearing of the dispatch of Sulla and Manlius to him, had bribed. In the mean time, Marius having put his army into winter-quarters, marches into the desert, with a detachment of foot and horse, to besiege a tower of the King's, wherein Jugurtha had put a garrison of Roman deserters. Then again Bocchus, either from a consideration of what he had suffered in the two battles, or upon the advice of other friends, whom Jugurtha had left uncorrupted, chose out of the number of his friends five, the most emi-*  
nia

nia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet; agendarum rerum, & quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis permittit.

CXI. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur; deinde a Gætulis latronibus in itinere circumventi, spoliatique, pavidī, sine decore ad Sullam pergunt; quem Consul, in expeditionem proficiscens, pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed accurate & liberaliter habuit. Qua re barbari & famam Romanorum avaritiæ falsam, & Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat; munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens; dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur Quæstori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor, consultorque sibi addit; copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui & alia, quæ aut utilia, aut benevolentia esse credebant, oratione extollunt; dein, Sulla omnia pollicito, docti quo modo apud Marium, item apud Senatum verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiantur.

*ment for their good affection and parts. These be orders to go to Marius, and, if he gave consent, to Rome; and furnishes them with full powers for the concluding of a peace at discretion.*

CXI. *They quickly depart for the winter-quarters of the Romans; but being trepanned in the way, and stript of all they had, by some Getulian robbers, in great fright, and a sorry equipage, they pursue their way to Sulla; whom the Consul, when he went upon his expedition, had left Proprætor. He did not treat them like fickle enemies, as they had deserved; but with great kindness and generosity. Whereupon the barbarians believed the report of the Roman avarice to be false; and concluded Sulla, from his generous reception of them, to be their friend. For the practice of giving, in order to corruption, was even at that time unknown to many; and no body was thought generous, but out of good will; and all presents were reckoned arguments of kindness. Wherefore they acquaint the Quæstor with the instructions they had received from Bocchus; and at the same time request of him to favour and assist them in their business; magnifying extremely the forces, honesty, and greatness of their prince, with other things they thought might be subservient to their design, or a means to procure favour. Sulla promised all they desired; and being by him instructed how they should address Marius, and likewise the Senate, they waited there about forty days.*

CXII.

CXII. Marius postquam infecto negotio, quo intenderat, Cirtam redit; de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque, & Sullam venire jubet, itemque L. Bellienum prætorem, Utica, præterea omnis undique Senatorii ordinis; quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit; in quibus, legatis potestas eundi Romam fit; & ab Consule interea induciæ postulabantur. Ea Sullæ & plerisque placuere; pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ, & mobiles semper in adversa mutantur. Cæterum Mauri impetratis omnibus, tres Romam profecti cum C. Octavio Rufone, qui Quæstor stipendium adportaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cætera, tum maxime benignitatem, & studium Sullæ lubens accepit. Romæque legatis ejus postquam, *errasse regem, & Jugurthæ scelere lapsum*, deprecati sunt, amicitiam & foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur.

*S. & P. R. beneficii, & injuriæ memor esse solet. Cæterum Boccho, quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam facit; foedus & amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit.*

CXII. *Marius not succeeding in his attempt upon the tower, returns to Cirta; where being informed of the arrival of the ambassadors, he orders them and Sulla to come to him; and likewise summons L. Bellienus the Prætor from Utica; and besides him, all others of Senatorian rank, in order to advise with them about the proposals of Bocchus; the sum whereof was, liberty for his ambassadors to proceed to Rome, and a cessation of arms in the mean time. Which Sulla, with a majority of the council, approved of; but others slightly opposed, being not sufficiently sensible of the uncertainty and inconstancy of human affairs, subject to very unlucky revolutions. The Moors, having obtained all they desired, three of them went for Rome, with C. Octavius Rufus, who had come as Quæstor into Africa, with pay for the army; two return to the King, and, besides other things, acquaint him more particularly with Sulla's kindness and concern for him; which was very agreeable. At Rome, the ambassadors confessing their King had been in an error, which he was led into by the wickedness of Jugurtha; and desiring the favour to be admitted into the Roman alliance, they received an answer in the following words.*

The Senate and people of Rome are ever mindful of any kindness or injury done them; however, they pardoned Bocchus's offence, in consideration of his repentance; and should admit him into their alliance, when he deserved it.



# BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 217

**CXIII.** Quibus rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, ut Sullam ad se mitteret; cujus arbitrato de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum præsidio equitum, atque peditum, funditorum Balearium; præterea iere sagittarii, & cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa; neque his secus, atque aliis armis, adversum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit; qui temere & effuse euntes, Sullæ, aliisque omnibus & numerum ampliorem vero, & hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur se quisque expedire; arma atque tela tentare, intendere; timor aliquantus; sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, & adversum eos, quos sæpe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum præmissa, temp, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

**CXIV.** Volux adveniens Quæstorem appellat; se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, & præsidio missum. Deinde eum, & proximum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, & diei vespere erat; repen-

**CXIII.** Bocchus, upon advice of this, requested of Marius, by a Letter, to send Sulla to him, that he might advise with him about their common concerns; who was sent accordingly, with a guard of horse and foot, Balearian slingers, bowmen, and a battalion of Pelignians, with arms used by the Velites, for the better expedition in their march, and because they would be as well secured by that sort of arms, as any other, against the enemies, who used the like themselves. Upon the fifth day of their march, Volux, the son of Bocchus, all on a sudden appeared upon a wide plain, with no more than a thousand horse; but who, by the loose order of their march, gave occasion to Sulla, and all that were with him, to imagine them to be more numerous, and enemies too. Whereupon, every man now stands to his arms, ready to receive them. Their hopes, however, were above their fears, as being to engage with an enemy, which they had often conquered. In the meantime, some horse being sent to reconnoitre them, bring word again, how the matter was; and that there was no danger.

**CXIV.** Volux coming up, addresses himself to the Quæstor, and tells him, that he had been sent by his father to meet him, and to wait upon him with that guard to his court. Accordingly they continue their march together, for that and the next day, very quietly. But in the evening, when they had now

te Maurus, incerto vultu pavens, ad Sullam adcurrit; dicitque, sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse; simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat, atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci, negat se toties fufum Numidam pertimescere; virtuti suorum satis credere; etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertæ, ac forsitan paullo post morbo interituræ vitæ parceret. Cæterum ab eodem monitus, uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat; ac statim milites cœnatos esse in castris; ignesque creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus. Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur; cum equites Mauri nunciant, Jugurtham, circiter duum millium intervallo, ante confedissee. Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit; credere se proditos a Voluce, & infidiis circumventos. Ac fuere qui dicerent, manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

*pitched their camp, all on a sudden the Moor comes in a great fright to Sulla, and tells him, that he was informed by his scouts, that Jugurtha was not far off; and at the same time begs and entreats him to fly away privately with him in the Night. To which he very boldly replied, that he feared not the Numidian, who had been so often beat by him; nor did he distrust the courage of his men: But however, tho' he was sure to perish, yet would he stand his ground, rather than save his life, which might otherwise, perhaps in a short time, have an end put to it by a distemper, by a scandalous flight, and betraying those he conducted. But however, being advised by the same Volux to continue his march in the night, he approved of that advice, and immediately gives order for the soldiers to go to supper in the camp; and when they had done, to make a good many fires up and down the same, and march silently off in the first watch. All being heartily tired with that night's march, Sulla pitched his camp again about sun-rise, when the Moorish horse bring word, that Jugurtha had sat down about two miles on the road before them. Upon hearing of which, our men were in a mighty consternation, as believing themselves betrayed, and led into a snare by Volux. And some cried out for vengeance upon him, and that such a piece of villainy might not go unpunished.*

CXV. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existimabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet; suos hortatur, uti fortem animum gererent; sæpe ante paucis strenuis adversus multitudinem bene pugnatum; quanto sibi in prælio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore; nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere in maximo metu, nudum & cæcum corpus ad hostis vertere. Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem maximum obtestatus, ut sceleris, atque perfidiæ Bocchi testis adesset, castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, ne ea crederet, nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Jugurthæ; cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Cæterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet; & spes, opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent; credere illum nihil ausurum palam, cum ipse filius testis adesset; quare optimum factum videri, per media ejus castra palam transire; sese, vel præmissis, vel ibidem relictiis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum. Ea res, uti in tali negotio, probata; ac statim profecti, quia de improvviso accesserint, du-

CXV. But Sulla, tho' he was of the same opinion, yet would not suffer the Moor to be hurt; but encourages his men to have a good heart; that a few brave fellows had oftentimes prevailed against multitudes; the less they spared themselves in battle, the more secure they would be; nor ought any one, that had armed his hands, to seek assistance from his unarmed feet; or in the midst of danger turn his naked back, that had no eyes in it, upon his enemy. Then invoking Jupiter as a witness of the villainy and treachery of Bocchus, he orders Volux, as acting like a base enemy, to be gone out of the camp. He, with tears in his eyes, begs of him, not to harbour any such suspicion of him; that nothing of all this was owing to any baseness of his, but to the subtlety of Jugurtha only, who had by his spies discovered their march. However, since he had no great numbers with him, and all his hopes and strength depended upon his father, he did not believe, he would dare to make any open attempt upon them, whilst the son was by, to be a witness of his behaviour. For which reason, he thought their best way would be to take their rout fairly through the middle of his camp; that he would either send his Moors before, or leave them there, and go single along with Sulla. This proposal was, as the case stood, approved of; and immediately they went; and Jugurtha being surprized with their coming, and unresolved what to do, they passed safe, and arrived,  
E e 2 bio,



bio, atque hæsitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum est.

CXVI. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam Aspar nomine, multum; & familiariter agebat, præmissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, & subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia; præterea Dabar, Massagradæ filius, ex gente Masinissæ, cæterum materno genere impar; nam pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus, acceptusque, quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis, multis ante tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, paratum sese facere, quæ populus Rom. vellet; colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse deligeret; consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere; neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret; accitum esse, quo res communis licentius gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter cavere nequivisse. Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis Punica fide, quam ob ea, quæ prædicabat, simul Romanos, & Numidam spe pacis attinuisse; multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum,

*in a few days, at the place they design'd for.*

CXVI. *There was at that time in Bocchus's court, a Numidian named Aspar, who pretended to great freedom and familiarity with him; having been dispatched thither by Jugurtha, as soon as he heard that Sulla had been sent for, as his envoy, and slyly to discover Bocchus's intentions; and besides him, one Dabar, the son of Massagrada, of the family of Masinissa; but of mean descent by the mother, for her father was the son of a concubine; but in great favour with the Moor for his excellent parts, whom Bocchus having found, upon several occasions before, to be entirely in the Roman interest, he immediately dispatches him to Sulla, to tell him, that he was ready to comply with the pleasure of the Roman people in every thing; that he might fix time and place for the interview betwixt them; that he was at full liberty to conclude matters, as they two, upon consideration, should find reasonable, without being under any obligations to the contrary from Jugurtha, whose agent he need not fear. He had been sent for, only that their common affair might be transacted with more freedom; for otherwise it would have been impossible to have guarded effectually against the sly arts of Jugurtha. But I find, that Bocchus herein acted double, rather than with the design he pretended; in order to keep both*

Ju-

## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 221

Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet; libidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

*the Romans and Jugurtha at a bay with the hopes of peace; and that he was a long time in debate with himself, whether he should deliver up Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sulla to him; his inclination pleading against, and his fear for, us.*

**CXVII.** Igitur Sulla respondit, pauca se coram Aspare locuturum, cætera occulte aut nullo, aut quam paucissimis præsenti-  
bus; simul edocet, quæ responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerant, congressi; dicit se missum a consule venisse, quæsitum ab eo, pacem, an bellum agiturus foret. Tunc rex, uti præceptum fuerat, post diem decimum redire jubet; ac nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responditurum. Deinde ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit; Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur; ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur. Præterea Dabar internuncius, sanctus vir, ex sententia jurat ambobus; ac statim sic rex incipit.

**CXVII.** Sulla therefore replied, that he should say but little in the presence of Aspar; the rest in private, with no one, or but very few by. At the same time, he instructs him, what answer he should return him. After they met according to appointment, Sulla tells him, that he had been sent by the Consul to know of him, whether he was for peace or war. Then the King, according to his instructions, bids him come to him again, after ten days time; seeing he was as yet undetermined in that matter; but would then give him an answer. Whereupon they both departed into their several camps. But when the night was now far spent, Sulla is privately sent for by Bocchus, and trusty interpreters alone allowed to be present, except the messenger Dabar, a man of honour, who was sworn to secrecy. Whereupon the King opened the conference as follows.

**CXVIII.** Numquam ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maximus in hac terra, & omnium, quos novi, opulentissimus, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et hercule Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis præstantibus aliis ultro ego

**CXVII.** I never imagined, that I, the greatest Prince in this part of the world, and the most opulent that I know, should ever be indebted for a favour to a private person, or any one under the rank of a King. And indeed, Sulla, before I was acquainted with you, I have granted favours to

*met*

*met opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum, quod cæteri dolere solent, ego lætor. Fuerit mihi pretium, eguisse aliquando tuæ amicitiae; qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet; arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo libet, sume, utere; & quoad viues, numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit; denique nihil me sciente frustra voles. Nam, ut ego existumo, regem armis, quam munificentia, vinci, flagitiosum minus. Cæterum de Re-  
publ. vestra, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Rom. neque feci, neque factum umquam volui; finis meos adversum armatos armis tutus sum. Id omitto; quando vobis ita placet; gerite, uti vultis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me & Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Præterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis.*

**CXIX.** Ad id Sulla pro se breviter, & modice; de pace, & de com-

many, upon their application for them, and to others without; but never stood in need of any myself. I am glad, the case is altered with me in that respect; a thing which others are apt to be sorry for. It was worth my while to stand in need of your friendship, to which I prefer nothing in the world besides; which you may try. Take, use my arms, men, money, in short, whatsoever you have a mind to; and after all, whilst you live, never think I have made you a sufficient requital for your favours. My obligation to you will ever be the same. Finally, you shall never desire any thing in my power to do for you, if I am but sensible of it, but you shall have it. For I think it less dishonourable for a Prince to be outdone in arms, than generosity. But as to your republic, whose affairs you have been sent hither to take care of, I shall let you know my mind in a few words. I never made war upon the Roman people, or ever so much as desired it. I only defended my dominions with arms against an armed force. But I say no more of that. Since you are so minded, carry on a war with Jugurtha, as you please. I shall never stir beyond the river Mulucha, which was the boundary betwixt me and Micipsa; nor will I ever suffer Jugurtha to come within it. And if you have any thing further to demand, worthy of me and yourselves, you shall not be denied.

**CXIX.** *To this Sulla replied briefly and modestly, so far as it related to himself; but spoke large-*  
muni-



## BELLUM JUGURTHINUM. 223

munibus rebus multis dis-  
seruit. Denique regipa-  
tescit; quod polliceatur,  
Senatum & populum Ro-  
manum, quoniam amplius  
armis valuissent, non in  
gratia habituros; faci-  
undum aliquid, quod illo-  
rum magis, quam sua, re-  
tulisse videretur; id adeo  
in promptu esse; quoniam  
Jugurthæ copiam habe-  
ret; quem si Romanis  
tradidisset, fore, ut illi  
plurimum deberetur; a-  
micitiam, fœdus, Numi-  
diæ partem, quam nunc  
peteret, tunc ultro adven-  
turam. Rex prima negi-  
tare; affinitatem, cognat-  
ionem, præterea fœdus  
intervenisse; ad hoc me-  
tuere, ne fluxa fide usus  
popularium animos aver-  
teret; quæ & Jugurtha  
carus, & Romani invisi-  
essent. Denique sæpius  
fatigatus, lenitur; & ex  
voluntate Sullæ omnia se  
facturum promittit. Cæ-  
terum ad simulandam  
pacem, cujus Numida,  
defessus bello, avidissu-  
mus, quæ utilia visa,  
constituunt. Ita, com-  
posito dolo, digrediuntur.

CXX. At rex postero  
die Asparem, Jugurthæ  
legatum, appellat; dicit-  
que sibi per Dabarem ex  
Sulla cognitum, posse con-

ly as to the publick concerns. Final-  
ly, he gave the King to under-  
stand, That as the Senate and peo-  
ple of Rome had been successful in  
the war, they would never thank  
him for what he promised. He  
must do something, that might ap-  
pear to be more for their interest,  
than his own; which was an easy  
matter for him to do, since he had  
Jugurtha in his power, whom, if  
he would deliver up to the Ro-  
mans, they would then be under a  
very great obligation to him; that  
then the Roman friendship and al-  
liance, with the third part of Nu-  
midia, which he demanded, would  
come into him, without more a-  
do. *The King, at first, refused  
over and over to comply with this  
proposal; alledging their relation  
both by blood and marriage, with  
the treaty of alliance that had been  
betwixt them. He was moreover  
afraid, he said, lest by acting so  
treacherous a part, he should lose  
the affections of his subjects, who  
all loved Jugurtha, and hated the  
Romans. But repeated instances  
to the same purpose softened him at  
last; and he accordingly promised  
to do all that Sulla desired of him.  
But to carry on the pretence of con-  
cluding a peace that should include  
Jugurtha, which he, being weary  
of the war, was very desirous of,  
they settle matters, as they judged  
proper for that purpose. And ha-  
ving thus laid their plot, they part.*

CXX. *The following day, the  
King speaks to Aspar, and tells  
him, that he was informed from  
Sulla by Dabar, that the war  
might be ended upon terms; he  
ditioni-*

*ditionibus bellum componi; quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret. Ille lætus in castra Jugurthæ venit. Deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum; & ei nunciat, Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum fidere; sæpe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam, frustra fuisse. Cæterum Bocchus, si ambobus consultam, & ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quasi de pace, in colloquium veniretur; ibique sibi Sullam traderet; cum talem virum in potestate haberet, tum fore, uti jussu S. P. Q. R. fœdus fieret; neque hominem nobilem non sua ignavia, sed ob rempubl. in hostium potestate relictum iri.*

CXXI. Hæc Maurus secum ipse diu volvens, tandem promissit. Cæterum dolo, an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiæ voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi adversæ. Postea tempore & loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthæ legatum appellare; benigne habere; idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter læti, ac spei bonæ pleni esse. Sed

*might learn his master's sentiments about it. He went, full of joy, to Jugurtha's camp, and taking his instructions, returns with all expedition eight days after to Bocchus, and tells him, that Jugurtha was ready to comply with any thing; but durst not trust Marius; that the peace he had concluded with several Roman commanders before him, they had never stood to. Bocchus, if he would provide effectually for them both, and make a peace to last, should procure a joint conference under that pretence, and deliver up Sulla to him. If he had but such a man as him in his hands, a treaty of peace would then be concluded by order of the Senate and people of Rome. For a man of his quality would never be left in the enemy's hands, into which he came, not by his own want of courage, but in serving his country.*

CXXI. *The Moor musing upon this proposal a good while, at last promised he would; but whether with a fraudulent design, or sincerely, I do not find. But princes humours, as they are mostly very violent, so are they fickle, and often inconsistent. After this, time and place being appointed for the conference, Bocchus one while talk'd with Sulla, another while with Jugurtha's agent; treated them kindly, and promised both the same thing. They were both alike well-pleased, and full of hopes. But in the night before the day appointed for the conference, the Moor gathering his friends about him,*

*nocte*

nocte ea, quæ proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis, ac statim immutata voluntate, remotis cæteris dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, vultu, colore, motu corporis pariter atq; animo varius; quæ scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta oris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam arcessi jubet; & ex ejus sententia Numidæ insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit; & ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse; cum paucis amicis, & Quæstore nostro, quasi obviis honoris causa, procedit in tumultum facillimum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, ut dictum erat, accedit; ac statim signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Cæteri obtruncati; Jugurtha Sullæ victus traditur, & ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

CXXII. Per idem tempus adversum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Q. Cæpione, & M. Manlio male pugnatum. Quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique, & inde usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere; alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro glo-

and immediately changing his mind, after he had ordered all but his friends to withdraw, he did, they tell you, ruminate upon the matter a long time, with strange alterations in his countenance, and a variety of sentiments; which, tho' he was silent, was discoverable in his looks. However, at last he orders Sulla to be sent for, and, by his advice, lays a plot for the Numidian. Then, as soon as it was day, and he was informed that Jugurtha was not far off, he, with a few friends, and our Quæstor, goes, under pretence of doing him honour, to meet him, as far as a hill that was in view of those who were ordered to trapan him. Thither, as had been appointed, the Numidian came unarmed with many friends. And immediately, upon a signal given, he was surrounded on all hands, and seized. The rest were killed; but Jugurtha was delivered in chains to Sulla, and by him conducted to Marius.

CXXII. About the same time, our generals, Q. Cæpio and M. Manlius, were very unfortunate against the Gauls; which occasioned a general consternation throughout Italy. And the Romans then were, and from that time to this have been always of opinion, that other wars had no difficulty in them; but that they fought with the Gauls for their very being, not glory. But after the



ria certare. Sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum; & Jugurtham vinctum adduci Romam nunciatum est; Marius Consul absens factus est; & ei decreta provincia Gallia; isque Kalendis Januariis magna gloria Consul triumphavit. Ex ea tempestate spes, atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ.

war in Numidia was at an end, and news was carried to Rome, that Jugurtha was coming in chains, Marius, tho' absent, was made Consul again; and the province of Gaul assigned him; and he triumphed, when Consul, upon the first of January, with great glory. From that time forward, the hopes and security of the Roman state rested upon him.





# ORATIONES DUÆ

A D

C. CÆSAREM,

SALLUSTIO Adscriptæ.

ORATIO I.

A D

C. CÆSAREM,

*De Republica Ordinanda.*

**P**OPULUS R. antea obtinebat, regna atque imperia, fortunam dono dare, item alia, quæ per mortalis avide cupiuntur; quia & apud indignos sæpe erant, quasi per lubidinem data; neque cuiquam incorrupta permanferant. Sed res docuit id verum esse, quod in carminibus Ap-pius ait, *Fabrum esse suæ quemque fortunæ*; atque in te max-ume, qui tantum alios prætergressus es, uti prius defessi sint homines laudando facta tua, quam tu laude digna faciundo. Cæterum uti fabricata, sic virtute parta, quam magna indu-stra haberi decet; ne incuria deformentur, aut corruant infir-mata. Nemo enim alteri imperium volens concedit; & quamvis bonus atque clemens sit, qui plus potest; tamen, quia malo esse licet, formidatur. Id evenit, quia plerique rerum potentes perverse consulunt; & eo se munitiores putant, quo illi, quibus imperitant, nequiores fuere.

F f. 2

II. At

II. At contra id eniti decet ; cum ipse bonus, atque strenuus sis, uti quam optumis imperites. Nam pessumus quisque asperrime rectorem patitur. Sed tibi hoc gravius est, quam ante te omnibus, armis parta componere. Bellum aliorum pace mollius gessisti ; ad hoc victores prædam petunt, victi cives sunt. Inter has difficultates evadendum est tibi ; atque in posterum firmanda respubl. non armis modo, neque adversum hostes, sed, quod multo majus, multoque asperius est, bonis pacis artibus. Ergo omnes magna mediocrique sapientia res huc vocat ; quæ quisque optima potest, ut dicat. Ac mihi sic videtur ; qualicumque modo tu victoriam composueris, ita alia omnia futura. Sed jam, quo melius, faciliusque constituas, paucis, quæ me animus monet, accipe.

III. Bellum tibi fuit, imperator, cum homine claro, magnis opibus, avido potentia, majore fortuna, quam sapientia ; quem secuti sunt pauci, per suam injuriam tibi inimici, item quos affinitas, aut alia necessitudo traxit. Nam particeps dominationis neque fuit quisquam ; neque, si pati potuisset, orbis terrarum bello concussus foret. Cætera multitudo vulgi, more magis quam judicio, post alius alium, quasi prudentiorem, secuti. Per idem tempus maledictis iniquiorum occupandæ reipubl. in spem adducti homines, quibus omnia probro ac luxuria polluta erant, concurrere in castra tua ; & aperte quietis mortem, rapinas, postremo omnia, quæ corruptus animus jubebat, munitari.

IV. Ex quis magna pars, ubi neque creditum condonare, neque te civibus, sicuti hostibus, uti vident, defluxere ; pauci restitere, quibus majus otium in castris, quam Romæ, futurum erat ; tanta vis creditorum impendebat. Sed ob easdem causas, immane dictu est, quanti, & quam multi mortales postea ad Pompejum discesserint ; eoque per omne tempus belli quasi sacro, atque inspoliato fano debitores usi. Igitur, quoniam tibi victori de bello, atque pace, agitandum est ; hoc uti civiliter deponas, illa ut quam justissima, & diuturna sit ; de te ipso primum, quia compositurus es, quod optimum factu est, existima. Equidem ego cuncta imperia crudelia, magis acerba, quam diuturna, arbitror, neque quemquam a multis metuendum esse, quin ad eum ex multis formido recidat ; eam vitam bellum æternum & anceps gerere ; quoniam neque adversus, neque ab tergo, aut lateribus tutus sis, semper in periculo, aut metu agites.

V. Contra qui benignitate, & clementia, imperium temperavere, his læta & candida omnia visa, etiam hostes æquiores, quam aliis cives. An qui me his dictis corruptorem victoriæ  
tuæ,



tuae, nimisque in victos bona voluntate praedicent? Scilicet quod ea, quae externis nationibus, natura hostibus, nosque majoresque nostri saepe tribuere, ea civibus danda arbitror; neque barbaro ritu caede caedem, & sanguine sanguinem expiandum. An illa, quae paullo ante hoc bellum in Cn. Pompejum victoriamque Sullanam increpabantur, oblivio abstulit; interfecit Domitium, Carbonem, Brutum, alios item non armatos, neque in proelio belli jure, sed post ea supplices per summum scelus interfectos; plebem Romanam in villa publica pecoris modo conscissam.

VI. Heu quam illa occulta civium funera, & repentinae caedes in parentum, aut liberorum sinum, fuga mulierum, & puerorum, vastatio domorum! ante-partam a te victoriam omnia saeva, atque crudelia erant. Ad quae te illi iidem hortantur; & scilicet id certatum esse utrius vestrum arbitrio, injuriae uti fierent; neque receptam, sed captam a te remp. & ea causa exercitus stipendiis confectis, optimos, & veterrimos omnium adversum fratres, parentesque, alii liberos armis contendere; ut ex alienis alis deterrimi mortales ventri atque profundae libidini sumtus quaererent; atque essent opprobria victoriae; quorum flagitiis commacularetur bonorum laus.

VII. Neque enim te praeterire puto, quali quisque eorum more aut modestia, etiam tum dubia victoria, sese gesserit; quoque modo in belli administratione scorta, aut convivia, exercuerint nonnulli; quorum aetas ne per otium quidem tales voluptates sine dedecore attigerit. De bello satis dictum. De pace firmanda quoniam tuque, & omnis tui agitat; primum id, quaeso, considera, quale id sit, de quo consultas; ita, bonis, malisque dimotis, patenti via ad verum perges. Ego sic existumo, quoniam orta omnia intereunt, qua tempestate urbi Romanae fatum excidii adventarit; cives cum civibus manus conferturos; ita defessos, & exsanguis regi, aut nationi praedae futuros. Aliter non orbis terrarum, neque cunctae gentes conglobatae, movere, aut contundere queunt hoc imperium. Firmanda igitur sunt concordiae bona & discordiae mala expellenda.

VIII. Id ita eveniet, si sumtuum, & rapinarum licentiam demseris; non ad vetera instituta revocans, quae jam pridem corruptis moribus, ludibrio sunt; sed si suam cuique rem familiarem finem sumtuum statueris; quoniam his incessit mos, ut homines adolescentuli, sua, atque aliena consumere, nihil libidini, atque aliis rogantibus denegare, pulcherrimum putent; eam virtutem, & magnitudinem animi, pudorem, atque modestiam pro socordia aestiment. Ergo animus ferox,  
prava

prava via ingressus, ubi consueta non suppetunt, fertur accensus in socios modo, modo in cives; movit composita, & res novas veteribus acquirit. Quare tollendus fenerator in posterum, uti suas quisque res curemus; ea vera, atque simplex via est magistratum populo, non creditori, gerere; & magnitudinem animi in addendo, non demendo reipubl. ostendere.

IX. Atque ego scio, quam aspera hæc res in principio futura sit, præsertim iis, qui se in victoria licentius liberiusque, quam artius, futuros credebant; quorum si saluti potius, quam lubidini, consules; illosque nosque & socios in pace firma constitues. Si eadem studia, artesque juventuti erunt; næ ista egregia tua fama simul cum urbe Roma brevi concidet. Postremo sapientes pacis causa bellum gerunt, laborem spe otii sustentant. Nisi illam firmam efficis, vinci, an vicisse, quid retulit? Quare capeisse per deos rempubl. & omnia aspera, uti soles, pervade. Namque aut tu mederi potes; aut omit-tenda est cura omnibus. Neque quisquam te ad crudeles pœnas, aut acerba judicia, invocat, quibus civitas vastatur magis, quam corrigitur, sed uti pravas artes, malasque lubidines, ab juventute prohibeas.

X. Ea vera clementia erit consuluisse, ne immerito cives patria expellerentur; retinuisse ab stultitia, & falsis voluptatibus; pacem concordiamque stabilivisse; non, si flagitiis obsecutus, delicta perpeffus, præsens gaudium cum mox futuro malo concesseris. Ac mihi animus, quibus rebus alii timent, maxime fretus est, negotii magnitudine; & quia tibi terræ, & maria simul omnia componenda sunt, (quippe res parvas tantum ingenium attingere nequit) magnæ curæ magna merces est. Igitur provideas oportet, uti plebes, largitionibus, & publico frumento, corrupta, habeat negotia sua, quibus ab malo publico detineatur; juvenus probitati, & industriæ, non sumtibus, neque divitiis, studeat. Id ita eveniet, si pecuniæ, quæ maxuma omnium pernicies est usum, atque decus demseris.

XI. Nam sæpe ego cum animo meo reputans, quibus quisque rebus clarissimi viri magnitudinem invenissent; quæ res populos nationesve magnis auctoribus auxissent; ac deinde quibus caussis amplissima regna & imperia corruissent; eadem semper bona atque mala reperiebam, omnisque victores divitias contempnissse, & victos cupivisse. Neque aliter quisquam extollere sese, & divina mortalis attingere potest, nisi, omisssis pecuniæ & corporis gaudiis, animo indulgens, non as-sentando, neque concupita præbendo, perversam gratiam gratificans; sed in labore, patientia, bonisque præceptis, & factis

factis fortibus exercitando. Nam domum aut villam exstruere, eamque signis, aulæis, aliisque operibus exornare, & omnia potius, quam semet, visendum efficere; id est, non divitias decori habere, sed ipsum illis flagitio esse.

XII. Porro ii, quibus bis die ventrem onerare, nullam noctem sine scorto quiescere mos est; ubi animum, quem dominari decebat, servitio opprèssere; nequicquam eo postea hebeti, atque claudo pro exercito uti volunt. Nam imprudentia pleraque, & se præcipitant. Verum hæc & omnia mala pariter cum honore pecuniæ desinent, si neque magistratibus, neque alia vulgo cupienda, venalia erunt. Ad hoc providendum est, quonam modo Italia atque provinciæ tutiores sint; id quod factu haud obscurum est. Nam iidem omnia vastant, suas deferendo domos, & per injuriam alienas occupando. Item ne, ut adhuc, militia injusta aut inæqualis sit; cum alii triginta, pars nullum stipendium faciet; & frumentum id, quod antea præmium ignaviæ fuit, per municipia & colonias illis dare conveniet, cum stipendiis emeritis domos reverterint. Quæ reipublicæ necessaria, tibi que gloriosa ratus sum, quam paucissimis absolvi.

XIII. Non pejus videtur, pauca nunc de facto meo differere. Plerique mortales ad judicandum satis ingenii habent, aut simulant; veruntamen ad reprehendenda aliena facta, aut dicta ardet omnibus animus; vix fatis apertum os, aut lingua prompta videtur, quæ meditata pectore evolvat; quibus me subiectum haud pœnitet, magis reticuisse pigeret. Nam five hac, seu meliore alia via perges; a me quidem pro virili parte dictum, & adjutum fuerit. Reliquum est, optare, uti, quæ tibi placuerint, ea dii immortales approbent, beneque evenire sinant.







## ORATIO II.

A D

C. CÆSAREM,

*De Republica Ordinanda.*

I. **S**CIO ego, quam difficile, atque asperum factu sit, consilium dare regi, aut imperatori; postremo cuiquam mortali, cujus opes in excelsis sunt; quippe cum & illis consultorum copiae adsint; neque de futuro quicquam satis callidus, satisque prudens sit. Quinetiam saepe prava magis, quam bona consilia prospere eveniunt; quia pleraque res fortuna ex lubrico sua agitat. Sed mihi studium fuit adolescentulo rempublicam capeffere; atque in ea cognoscenda multam, magnamque curam habui; non ita, uti magistratum modo caperem, quem multi malis artibus adepti erant; sed etiam uti rempubl. domi, militiae, quantumque armis, viris, opulentia posset, cognitum haberem. Itaque mihi multa cum animo agitante consilium fuit, famam, modestiamque meam post tuam dignitatem habere, & cujus fel lubet periculum facere, dum quid tibi ex eo gloriae accederet. Idque non temere, neque ex fortuna tua, decrevi; sed quia in te, praeter caeteras, artem unam egregie mirabilem comperi, semper tibi majorem in adversis, quam in secundis rebus animum esse. Sed per caeteros mortales illa res clarior est, quod prius defessi sint homines laudando atque admirando munificentiam tuam, quam tu faciendo, quae gloria digna essent.

II. Equidem mihi decretum est, nihil tam ex alto reperiri posse, quod non cogitanti tibi in promptu sit. Neque ego, quae visa sunt, de rep. tibi scripsi, quia mihi consilium, atque ingenium meum amplius aequo probaretur; sed inter labores militiae, interque praelia, victorias, imperium, statui admonendum te de negotiis urbanis. Namque tibi si id modo in  
pectore

pēctore confilii est, uti te ab inimicorum impetu vindices, quoque modo contra adversum Consulem beneficia populi retineas; indigna virtute tua cogites. Sin in te ille animus est, qui jam a principio nobilitatis factionem disturbavit; plebem Rom. ex gravi servitute in libertatem restituit; in prætura inimicorum arma inermis disjecit; domi militiæque tanta, & tam præclara facinora fecit, uti ne inimici quidem queri quidquam audeant, nisi de magnitudine tua; quin accipe tu ea, quæ dicam de summa republ. quæ profecto aut vera invenies, aut certe haud procul a vero.

III. Sed quoniam Cn. Pompejus aut animi pravitate, aut quia nihil maluit, quam quod tibi obesset, ita lapsus est, ut hostibus tela in manus jaceret; quibus ille rebus republ. conturbavit, eisdem tibi restituenda est. Primum omnium, summam potestatem moderandi, de vestigalibus, sumptibus, judiciis, senatoribus paucis tradidit; plebem Romanam, cujus antea summa potestas erat, ne æquis quidem legibus in servitute reliquit. Judicia tametsi, sicut antea, tribus ordinibus tradita sunt; tamen iidem illi factiosi regunt, dant, adimunt, quæ lubet, innocentes circumveniunt; suos ad honorem extollunt.

IV. Non facinus, non probrum, aut flagitium obstat, quo minus magistratus capiant; quod commodum est, trahunt, rapiunt; postremo, tanquam urbe capta, lubricine, ac licentia sua, pro legibus utuntur. Ac me quidem mediocris dolor angeret, si virtute partam victoriam more suo per servitium exercerent. Sed homines inertissimi, quorum omnis vis, virtusque in lingua sita est, forte, atque alterius socordia dominationem oblatam insolentes agitant. Nam, quæ seditio, ac dissensio civilis tot tamque illustres familias ab stirpe evertit? aut quorum umquam victoria animus tam præceps, tamque immoderatus fuit? L. Sulla, cui omnia in victoria lege belli licuerunt, tametsi supplicio hostium partes suas muniri intelligebat; tamen, paucis interfectis, cæteros beneficio, quam metu, retinere maluit. At hercule nunc cum Catone, L. Domitio, cæterisque ejusdem factionis, quadraginta senatores, multi præterea cum spe bona adolescentes, sicuti hostiæ, mactati sunt; cum interea importunissima genera hominum tot miserorum civium sanguine satiari nequiere; non orbi liberi, non parentes exacta ætate, non gemitus virorum, luctus mulierum immanem eorum animum inflexit; quin, acerbius in dies male faciendo, ac dicundo, dignitate alios, alios civitate eversum ierent.

V. Nam, quid ego de te dicam, cujus contumeliam homines ignavissimi vita sua commutare volunt, si liceat? neque illis tantæ voluptati est (tametsi insperantibus accidit) dominatio, quanto mœrori tua dignitas; quin optatius habent, ex tua calamitate periculum libertatis facere, quam per te populi R. imperium maximum ex magno fieri. Quo magis tibi etiam atque etiam animo prospiciendum est, quonam modo rem stabilias, communiasque. Mihi quidem quæ mens suppetit, eloqui non dubitabo. Cæterum tui erit ingenii probare, quæ vera, atque utilia factu putes. In duas partes ego civitatem divisam arbitror, sicut a majoribus accepi, in patres, & plebem. Antea in patribus summa auctoritas erat, vis multo maxuma in plebe.

VI. Itaque sæpius in civitate secessio fuit; semperque nobilitatis opes diminutæ sunt, & jus populi amplificatum. Sed plebes eo libere agitabat; quia nullius potentia super leges erat; neque divitiis, aut superbia, sed bona fama, factisque fortibus nobilis ignobilem anteibat; humillimus quisque in armis, aut militia, nullius honestæ rei agens, satis sibi, satisque patriæ erat. Sed, ubi eos paullatim expulsos agris, inertia, atque inopia incertas domos habere subegit; cœpere alienas opes petere, libertatem suam cum republica venalem habere. Ita paullatim populus, qui dominus cunctis gentibus imperitabat, dilapsus est; & pro communi imperio, privatim sibi quisque servitutem peperit. Hæc igitur multitudo primum malis moribus imbuta, deinde in artes, vitasque varias dispalata, nullo modo inter se congruens, parum mihi quidem idonea videtur ad capeffendam rempubl.

VII. Cæterum, additis novis civibus, magna me spes tenet, fore, ut omnes expergiscantur ad libertatem; quippe cum illis libertatis retinendæ, tum his servitutis amittendæ cura orietur. Hos ego censeo, permixtos cum veteribus novos, in coloniis constituas; ita & res militaris opulentior erit, & plebes bonis negotiis impedita malum publicum facere desinet. Sed non incius, neque imprudens sum, cum ea res agetur; quæ sævitia, quæque tempestates hominum nobilium futuræ sint, cum indignabuntur omnia funditus misceri, anti- quis civibus hanc servitutem imponi, regnum denique ex libera civitate futurum, ubi unius munere multitudo ingens in civitatem pervenerit. Equidem ego sic apud animum meum statuo, malum facinus in se admittere, qui incommodo rei- publ. gratiam sibi conciliet. Ubi bonum publicum etiam pri- vatim usui est; id vero dubitare aggredi, socordiæ, atque ignaviæ duco. M. Livio Druso semper consilium fuit, in tri-  
bunatu



bunatu summa ope niti pro nobilitate; neque ullam rem in principio agere intendit, nisi illi auctores fierent. Sed homines factiosi, quibus dolus, atque malitia, fide cariora erant, ubi intellexerunt, per unum hominem maxumum beneficium multis mortalibus dari; videlicet & sibi quisque conscius, malo atque infido animo esse, de M. Livio Druso juxta, ac se, existimaverunt. Itaque metu, ne per tantam gratiam solus rerum potiretur, contra eam nixi, sua ipsius consilia disturbaverunt.

VIII. Quo tibi, imperator, majore cura fideque amici, & multa præsidia paranda sunt. Hostem adversum opprimere, strenuo homini haud difficile est; occulta pericula neque facere, neque vitare, bonis in promptu est. Igitur, ubi eos in civitatem adduxeris; quoniam quidem revocata plebes erit, in ea re maxume animum exercitatio, uti colantur boni mores; concordia inter veteres, & novos coalescat. Sed multo maxumum bonum patriæ civibus, tibi, liberis, postremo humanæ genti, pepereris, si studium pecuniæ aut sustuleris, aut, quoad res feret, minueris. Aliter neque privata res, neque publica, neque domi, neque militiæ, regi potest. Nam ubi cupido divitiarum invasit; neque disciplina, neque artes bonæ, neque ingenium ullum satis pollet; quin animus magis, aut minus mature, postremo tamen succumbit. Sæpe jam audiavi, qui reges, quæ civitates, & nationes, per opulentiam magna imperia amiserint, quæ per virtutem inopes ceperant, id adeo haud mirandum est. Nam ubi bonus deteriore divitiis magis clarum, magisque acceptum videt; primo æstuat, multaque in pectore volvit; sed ubi gloria honorem magis in dies, virtutem opulentia vincit; animus ad voluptatem a vero deficit.

IX. Quippe gloria industria alitur; ubi eam demiseris, ipsa per se virtus amara, atque aspera est. Postremo, ubi divitiæ claræ habentur, ibi omnia bona vilia sunt, fides, probitas, pudor, pudicitia. Nam ad virtutem una, & ardua via est; ad pecuniam, qua cuique lubet, nititur; & malis, & bonis febus ea creatur. Ergo in primis auctoritatem pecuniæ demito; neque, de capite, neque de honore ex copiis quisquam magis, aut minus judicaverit; si neque prætor, neque consul, ex opulentia, verum ex dignitate creetur. Sed de magistratu facile populi judicium sit. Judices a paucis probari, regnum est; ex pecunia legi, inhonestum. Quare omnes primæ classis judicare placet, sed numero plures, quam judicant. Neque Rhodios, neque alias civitates umquam suorum judiciorum poenitent; ubi promiscue dives, & pauper,

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ut cuique fors tulit, de maxumis rebus juxta, ac de minimis disceptat. Sed de magistratibus creandis haud mihi quidem absurde placet lex, quam C. Gracchus in tribunatu promulgaverat; ut ex confusis quinque classibus sorte centuriæ vocarentur. Ita coæquati dignitate, pecunia, virtute anteire alius alium properabit. Hæc ego magna remedia contra divitias statuo. Nam perinde omnes res laudantur, atque appetuntur, ut earum rerum usus est; malitia præmiis exercetur.

X. Ubi ea demseris, nemo omnium gratuito malus est. Cæterum avaritia bellua fera, immanis, intoleranda est; quo intendit, oppida, agros, fana, atque domos, vastat; divina cum humanis permiscet; neque exercitus, neque mœnia obstant, quo minus vi sua penetret; fama, pudicitia, liberis, patria, atque parentibus cunctos mortales spoliât. Verum, si pecuniæ decus ademeris; magna illa vis avaritiæ facile bonis moribus vincetur. Atque hæc ita sese habere, tametsi omnes æqui, atque iniqui memorent; tamen tibi cum factione nobilitatis haud mediocriter certandum est; cujus si dolum cave-  
ris, alia omnia in proclivi erunt. Nam hi, si virtute satis valerent, magis æmuli bonorum, quam invidi, essent. Quia desidia, & inertia, & stupor eos, atque torpedo, invasit; strepunt, obtreſtant, alienam famam bonam suum dedecus existimant. Sed, quid ego plura, quasi de ignotis memorem? M. Bibuli fortitudo, atque animi vis, in consulatum erupit; hebes lingua, magis malus, quam callidus ingenio. Quid ille audeat, cui consulatus maximum imperium maximum dedecori fuit? An L. Domitii magna vis est, cujus nulum membrum a flagitio aut facinore vocat? lingua vana, manus cruentæ, pedes fugaces; quæ honeste nominari nequeant, inhonestissima.

XI. Unius tamen M. Catonis ingenium versutum, loquax, callidum haud contemno. Parantur hæc disciplina Græcorum. Sed virtus, vigilantia, labos, apud Græcos nulla sunt. Quippe, qui domi libertatem suam per inertiam amiserunt; censesne eorum præceptis, imperium haberi posse? Reliqui de factione sunt inertissimi nobiles; in quibus, sicut in statua, præter nomen, nihil est additamenti. L. Posthumius, & M. Favonius, mihi videntur quasi magnæ navis supervacua onera esse, ubi salvi pervenere, usui sunt; si quid adversi coortum est, de illis potissimum jactura fit, quia pretii minimi sunt. Nunc quoniam, sicut mihi videor, de plebe renovanda, corrigendaque disserui; de senatu, quæ tibi agenda videntur, dicam. Postquam mihi ætas ingeniumque adolevit, haud ferme armis, atque equis, corpus exercui, sed

animum in litteris agitavi; quod natura firmitus erat, id in laboribus habui. Atque ego in ea vita multa legendo, atque audiendo ita comperi, omnia regna, civitates, nationes usque eo prosperum imperium habuisse, dum apud eos vera consilia valuerunt; ubicumque gratia, timor, voluptas, ea corrumpere; post paullo imminutæ opes, deinde ademtum imperium, postremo servitus imposita est.

XII. Equidem ego sic apud animum meum statuo; cumque in sua civitate amplior, illustriorque locus, quam aliis est, ei magnam curam esse reipubl. Nam cæteris, salva urbe, tantummodo libertas tuta est; qui per virtutem sibi divitias, decus, honorem pepererunt; ubi paullum inclinata respubl. agitari cœpit, multipliciter animus curis, atque laboribus fatigatur; aut gloriam, aut libertatem, aut rem familiarem defendat; omnibus locis adest, festinat; quanto in secundis rebus florentior fuit, tanto in adversis asperius magisque anxie agitatur. Igitur ubi plebes senatui, sicuti corpus animo, obedit, ejusque consulta exsequitur; patres consilio valere decet, populo supervacanea est calliditas. Itaque majores nostri cum bellis asperrimis premerentur, equis, viris, pecunia amissa, nunquam defessi sunt armati de imperio certare. Non inopia ærarii, non vis hostium, non adversa res ingentem eorum animum subegit; quin, quæ virtute ceperant, simul cum anima retinerent. Atque ea magis fortibus consiliis, quam bonis præliis, patrata sunt. Quippe apud illos una respubl. erat, ei omnes consulebant; factio contra hostes parabatur; corpus atque ingenium, patriæ, non suæ quisque potentiæ, exercitabat.

XIII. At hoc tempore contra homines nobilis, quorum animos socordia, atque ignavia, invasit, ignari laboris, hostium, militiæ, domi factione instructi, per superbiam cunctis gentibus moderantur. Itaque patres, quorum consilio antea dubia respubl. stabiliebatur, oppressi, ex aliena libidine huc atque illuc fluctuantes agitantur; interdum alia, deinde alia decernunt; ut eorum, qui dominantur, simulas ac arrogantia fert, ita bonum malumque publicum existumant. Quod si aut libertas æqua omnium, aut sententia obscurior esset; majoribus opibus respubl. & minus potens nobilitas esset. Sed quoniam coæquari gratiam omnium difficile est; quippe cum illis majorum virtus partem reliquerit gloriam, dignitatem, clientelas; cætera multitudo pleraque inscia; sit sententia eorum a metu libera. Ita occulto sibi quisque alterius potentia carior erit. Libertas juxta bonis, & malis, strenuis, atque ignavis optabilis est. Verum eam plerique metu deferunt, stultissimi mortales; quod in certamine dubium est, quorsum accadat,

id



id per inertiam in se, quasi victi, recipiunt. Igitur duabus rebus confirmari posse senatum puto; si numero auctus per tabellam sententiam feret.

XIV. Tabella obtentui erit, quo magis animo libero facere audeat; in multitudine, & præsidii plus, & usus amplior est. Nam fere, his tempestatibus, alii judiciis publicis, alii privatis suis atque amicorum negotiis implicati, haud sane reipubl. consiliis adfuerunt; neque eos magis occupatio, quam superba imperia distinuere. Homines nobiles cum paucis senatoriis, quos additamenta factionis habent, quæcumque libuit probare, reprehendere, decernere, ea, uti libido tulit, fecere. Verum ubi, numero senatorum aucto, per tabellam sententiæ dicentur; næ illi superbiam suam dimittent, ubi iis obediendum erit, quibus antea crudelissime imperitabant. Forsitan, imperator, perlectis litteris desideres, quem numerum senatorum fieri placeat; quoque modo is in multa, & varia officia distribuatur; & quoniam judicia primæ classis mittenda putem, quæ descriptio, qui numerus in quoque genere futurus sit. Ea mihi omnia generatim describere haud difficile factu fuit; sed prius laborandum visum est de summa consilii, idque tibi probandum verum esse. Si hoc itinere uti decreveris, cætera in promptu erunt. Volo ego consilium meum prudens, maximeque usui esse. Nam ubicunque tibi res prospere cedit, ibi mihi bona fama eveniet. Sed me illa magis cupido exercet, uti quocumque modo, & quamprimum respubl. adjuvetur. Libertatem gloria cariorem habeo, atque ego te oro, hortorque, ne clarissimus imperator, Gallica gente subacta, populi R. summum atque invictum imperium tabescere vetustate, ac per summam discordiam dilabi, patiaris. Profecto, si id accadat, neque tibi nox, neque dies curam animi sedaverit, quin insomniis exercitus, furibundus, atque amens alienata mente feraris. Namque mihi pro vero constat, omnium mortalium vitam divino numine invisi; neque bonum, neque malum facinus cujusquam pro nihilo haberi; sed ex natura diversa præmia bonos, malosque sequi. Interea forte ea tardius procedunt; suus cuique animus ex conscientia spem præbet.

XV. Quod si tecum patria, atque parentes possent loqui, scilicet hæc tibi dicerent; O Cæsar, nos te genuimus fortissimi viri, in optima urbe, decus, præsidiumque nobis, hostibus terrorem. Quæ multis laboribus, & periculis ceperamus, ea tibi nascenti cum anima simul tradidimus, patriam maximam in terris; domum, familiamque in patria clarissimam, præterea bonas artes, honestas divitias; postremo omnia ho-

nesta.

nestamenta pacis, & præmia belli. Pro his amplissimis beneficiis non flagitium a te, neque malum facinus, petimus; sed uti libertatem everfam restituas. Qua re patrata, profecto per gentes omnes fama virtutis tuæ volitabit. Namque hac tempestate, tametsi domi, militiæque præclara facinora egisti; tamen gloria tua cum multis viris fortibus æqualis est; si vero urbem amplissimo nomine, & maximo imperio, prope jam ab casu restitueris; quis te clarior, quis major in terris fuerit? Quippe si morbo jam, aut fato huic imperio secus accidat; cui dubium est, quin per orbem terrarum vastitas, bella, cædes oriantur? Quod si tibi vana lubido fuerit, patriæ, parentibus gratificandi; postero tempore republ. restituta, super omnis mortalis gloria agnita, tuaque unius mors vita clarior erit. Nam vivos interdum fortuna, sæpe invidia, fatigat; ubi anima naturæ cessit, demtis obtrectionibus ipsa se virtus magis magisque extollit. Quæ mihi utilia factu visa sunt, quæque tibi usui fore credidi, quam paucissimis potui, perscripsi. Cæterum deos immortales obtestor, uti, quocumque modo ages, ea res tibi, rei que publicæ prospere eveniat.

F I N I S.



